



Daily Report

East Europe

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Yugoslavia

Bosnia-Herzegovina—The EC sponsored conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina's status issued a statement on the national principles which will govern the republic. It was signed on 17 March by the leaders of the three largest republican parties: Alija Izetbegovic, representing the Party of Democratic Action (Muslims); Radovan Karadzic, from the Serbian Democratic Party; and Mate Boban of the Croatian Democratic Union. The republic will be a "state composed of three constituent units based on a national principle" and will consider economic, geographic, and other criteria according to Jose Cutilheiro, EC chairman for the peace talks, TANJUG reports.

Macedonia—Belgrade radio reports that a "stormy debate" occurred at the Macedonia Assembly. The VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) "is demanding the resignations" of Assembly President Stojan Andov and Foreign Minister Denko Maleski. Deputies accuse Andov of "manipulating" the Assembly and "treating it like his own property" and criticize Maleski for "being incapable of carrying out his tasks" in the Macedonian Foreign Service, which he heads. They claim it has "so far done almost nothing to ensure that Macedonia receives international recognition."

Poland

PAP reports that in an interview with HANDELSBLATT, President Lech Walesa said that if the Sejm fails to pass the draft 1992 budget he does not foresee the government's collapse, but added that it would be "a disaster." He claims that if political parties can not agree on a new prime minister he is "ready to act as one." In response to a question on the situation in Russia and the former republics, Walesa "warned the West against committing the same mistakes which had been made in dealing with Poland" by "flooding the Polish market with cheap products which led to the decline in domestic production and a rise in unemployment." "If reforms in Russia fail," Walesa believes it "will destabilize Poland..."

Albania

Various political parties are campaigning nationwide for the general elections on 22 March. Democratic Party (DP) Chairman Sali Berisha held a news conference in Tirana to outline his party's electoral campaign, ATA reports. The party spokesman states that the DP appeals for a "mature, civilized and tolerant election campaign where sound reason and culture should replace political emotions and undignified attacks towards the opposite party." Berisha claims that the Socialist Party is "playing with the Albanian peasant" by suggesting that the DP will "bring back the landlords" and reverse private land ownership, which Berisha says "is not at all true." "We have to establish stability and order in the country" he points out, "stimulate the peasants," and "realize the idea of national conciliation and union."

Albanian Republican Party (PRSh) Chairman Sabri Godo, campaigning in Tepelene District, explained to listeners that the PRSh will rebuild "with credit, without levying taxes on the peasant" and ensure employment through the "infrastructure, tourism and natural resources," Tirana radio reports. The PRSh supports "private property and protection of property by law in a multiparty law-governed state," Godo says.

In an interview with BASHKIMI, Union for Human Rights Party Chairman Thoma Xha emphasizes that his party favors "the full democratization of the social order in Albania" based on human rights and freedoms, a constitution, and international law, according to an ATA report. Xha says his party supports "profound economic reform" and peasant land ownership rights.

Berisha on Democratic Party's Electoral Campaign
*AU1503175292 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT
 14 Mar 92*

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—On March 13, afternoon, the chairman of the Democratic Party (DP) of Albania, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha gave a press conference at the Press Centre in Tirana. The press conference was declared open by the spokesman of the Democratic Party Mr. Genc Pollo, who at the beginning briefed those present on the election campaign by the candidates for deputies of this party. The Democratic Party, he pointed out, appeals continuously for a mature civilised and tolerant election campaign, where sound reason and culture should replace political emotions and undignified attacks towards the opposite party. Then he acquainted the participants with the visit a delegation of the DP, headed by the Chairman Mr. Sali Berisha, paid to Turkey from March 9 to 13, at the invitation of the Dogru Yol [True Path] Party, to which the Premier Demirel belongs to.

Speaking at the briefing Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha said that he wanted to underscore some moments. The Socialists (SP) are playing with the Albanian peasant. Those who did not want to divide the land are currently frightening the peasants by saying that the Democratic Party will bring back the landlords, which is not at all true. With regard to their compensation, it will not weigh on the peasants, we think that the peasantry should not pay taxes for 2-3 or more years. He thanked the outstanding Albanian intellectuals who are addressing the people to vote for the opposition and called on the people to respond to their appeal. During the last three weeks, he continued we notice that hundreds of thousands of SP members are joining the opposition. Likewise, he said that the DP, accepting the political election contest, will abide by the rules for an honest election campaign. Tomorrow, while in power, it will be tolerant towards the opposition.

Then, Prof. Dr. S. Berisha responded to the questions of the journalists. With regard to the coalition of the opposition parties, he underscored that this is a reality to cover this stage and later on. With regard to the question on his opinion on the attacks of the SP and ZERI I POPULLIT towards the Albanian Radio-TV, he said that those are groundless. The Albanian Radio-TV is broadcasting correct information and is working conform the laws passed by the parliament. Regarding the gold issue he said that some day it will be found and that he is confident that the Swiss Government will provide a full information on the deposits of Albanian gold there.

Responding to the question what will you do after the March 22 victory, Mr. Sali Berisha said that first we have to establish stability and order in the country, we shall help and stimulate the peasants, will find raw material so that the workers resume working, and will work to realize the idea of national conciliation and union, which the SP is trying to manipulate for electorate. To the question how will you behave in case you lose the elections, he responded that we shall respect the rules of democracy.

Likewise, he responded to other questions such as on the measures taken to avoid manipulations of the elections, the withdrawal of the ministers of the Stability Government, which would be the branches to which priority will be given for the growth of the economy and the possible partners if the DP wins the elections, the differences existing in the election programs between the SP and the DP, etc.

Republican Party's Godo Campaigns in Tepelene
*AU1603154592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
 in Albanian 1830 GMT 15 Mar 92*

[Text] Sabri Godo, chairman of the Albanian Republican Party (PRSh), held several successive meetings with the inhabitants of the villages of Nivice, Rexhin, Gusmar, and Progonat in Tepelene District yesterday. Mr. Hqmet Llapi, chairman of the PRSh's Tepelene Branch, presented Mr. Sabri Godo as the PRSh's parliamentary candidate in these meetings.

I feel at home in Kurvelesh, Godo said in his speeches. I have relatives, close friends, and compatriots here. I spent several years of my youth here, during the romantic fight for freedom and democracy in the ranks of the Sixth Assault Brigade. I came to know intimately the freedom-loving spirit, the courage, hospitality, and word of honor of the people of Kurvelesh. Without them I would be missing a great deal. That is why I feel honored if I am permitted to represent you, to express your will, desires, concerns, and spirit in the future parliament.

Some peasants said in their speeches that they knew Godo from the war, from his literary works, and from his pen, which recreated Ali Pashe Tepelena and Skenderbeg. They said they knew him know from his convictions as a fighter for democracy. Last, the Republicans, they said, are presenting a candidate that suits Kurvelesh.

Thanking them for their kind remarks and views, Mr. Godo explained the PRSh's electoral program to those present. The countryside, he said among other things, will be rebuilt with credit, without levying taxes on the peasant for two or three years. In the meantime, legal emigration, communication, and employment through infrastructure, tourism, and natural resources must be ensured.

Asked whom the land will belong to according to the PRSh's program, whether to peasants or landowners, what the attitude will be toward heroes and martyrs, whether criminals will be tried, and whether there will be revenge, Mr. Godo answered categorically:

The land, as we have clearly stated since the electoral program of last March, will belong to those who work it. We do not know in which of our programs Fatos Nano has read that we will give the land to landowners. Maybe this suits his demagogy of renewal.

As for the war's heroes and martyrs, they will be respected as is proper for every cultivated people. As for the criminals who have killed and slaughtered people, we will treat them as they deserve. They can only be regarded as criminals, but, if we take revenge, we cease to be democrats.

Asked about the television report about a right-wing Republican Party having been founded recently, Mr. Sabri Godo explained that this involves some unsatisfied careerists who would like to be party leaders. It is very easy to form a party nowadays. All you need is a program and 300 signatures. The word right wing makes us laugh, because it is well-known that the Republicans are all rightists.

Our PRSh is a consolidated party with a clear and full vision and a program and statute. As such it is characterized by clear policies based on private property and protection of property by law in a multiparty law-governed state. I would say that the Socialists are more than concerned about the ranks of the PRSh, and about unity within its own ranks. The word unity used to mean dictatorship by the Socialists. When this dictatorship was destroyed, the Socialists lost unity, whereas for us Republicans, thought is free, and that is the greatest guarantee for our party's unity.

The question of what percentage of the electorate he expects to win in the 22 March elections, Mr. Godo answered that the PRSh won 2 percent of the electorate in the last March elections. I think that now, a year later, when its strength and membership is ten times greater, the PRSh will in fact gain the percentage it deserves.

After these meetings, Mr. Sabri Godo visited some families he has known since the years of the National Antifascist Liberation War.

Union for Human Rights Party Program Summarized *AU1603161392 Tirana ATA in English 0944 GMT 16 Mar 92*

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—The newspaper "BASH-KIMI" carries an interview with Thoma Xha, chairman of the "Union for Human Rights" Party. It stresses among others that this party will combat for the full democratization of the social order in Albania, to realize the democracy based on the basic human rights and liberties in the framework of the constitution and of international law.

"The Union for Human Rights" Party will combat for the preservation, strengthening of unity, and for a democratic

society. It will combat for a state ruled by law, which would defend the legitimate rights and interests of the individual and of his private property. It will fight for the democratization of the local power and self-governing which will fully respond to the promotion of democracy in the Republic of Albania.

This party is for a profound economic reform which leads towards the market economy, which would ensure the fast rate development of Albania, a higher living standard of the people. It is for close economic relations, supporting all the bilateral relations with all the states, defending and stimulating the foreign investments to serve the country's interests.

Further on, the interview stresses that the program of this party is to make the peasants owners of land, and on the other side calls for help from the state with technical and financial means for the development of its private economy.

Committee Finds 'Irregularities' in 400 Candidacies *NC1403063492 Athens Elliniki Radiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1855 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Albanian Central Electoral Committee announced on Wednesday that had it discovered purported irregularities in the proposals by candidates which have resulted in the termination of 400 candidacies. Twelve of the 36 candidates from the Greek minority were among those whose candidacies were terminated. In a protest statement issued today to the CSCE, the Council of Europe and the EC, the Greek minority Union for Human Rights party announced that it had encountered serious obstacles while conducting its election campaign and that pressure and threats have been leveled against its candidate deputies. It also said that in the areas of Korce, (Tremetis) and (Tepelenion), the electoral committees rejected the electoral lists of the party for reasons that are not valid for other parties.

In the protest statement the Union for Human Rights stresses that it must reexamine the democratic character of the upcoming elections and reserves the right to reexamine its position.

Kazakh Nuclear Arms Affair 'Intentional Diversion'*AU1803104392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Neither Varna nor Bulgaria as a whole are involved in the nuclear warhead affair. The whole story is presumably based on intentional diversion toward false tracks, which may have been inspired by the diktat of international mafia members. This was established by our Varna correspondent Georgi Sveshtnikov after a thorough investigation conducted with the assistance of maritime experts and naval specialists, irrespective of the articles and reports appearing in the press today.

The same conclusion was reached by the Ministry of Internal Affairs' offices. The data available to us justify our conviction that Varna and Bulgaria have nothing in common with this story. Lieutenant Colonel Petko Petkov, director of the Regional Ministry of Internal Affairs Administration, declared to our Varna correspondent. The question remains whether it is possible that the nuclear warheads may have been shipped on a foreign vessel, which did not dock at Varna port, but only remained anchored outside the port. The investigation continues.

Agreement on Purchase of Former Soviet Weapons*AU1603121892 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA
in Bulgarian 10 Mar 92 pp 1, 2*

[Emil Mladenov report: "Weapons Business—Alternative of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship"]

[Text] Great quantities of valuable reserves of fuels and weapons of the former USSR have been stored for many years in our military units. Why? Because of the Warsaw Pact's strategic plan for the Balkans. However, the pact's demise put a question mark on the total obedience and agreement with everything the big brother used to impose on us.

At the end of 1990 attempts began to resolve the problems. However, our side at the talks with our former military partners was always represented by generals and officers, all of whom graduated from Soviet military academies. It would be impossible for them to protect our interests from the commercial point of view. No one even posed the question of paying any rent for storing this foreign property on our territory. At the same time, our army accumulated expenditures related to the storage. Only when at the end of 1991 civilians headed the Defense Ministry, did the approach in the talks with the "dear brothers" become commercial and take into consideration only the interests of our army. "At the end of 1991 we successfully completed the first stage of the talks and reached an agreement on storing the fuel and lubricants," Mr. Tanovski, deputy minister of defense, said especially for DEMOKRATSIYA. "Last week we also reached an agreement on the price of the weapons and equipment that we will purchase. The price was three times lower than the initial price they asked!"

Having encountered for the first time a firm, precise, and well-founded position, our surprised partners tried to impose their will by establishing contacts with private

companies. However, also in this area their attempts to ignore our national interests proved futile. The condition was immediately posed that since the fuel and lubricants are stored in military units, and private companies must transport them from there in an exceptionally short period of time, a very high rent in foreign currency will be required. Naturally, the talks collapsed.

An agreement has been reached, which is exceptionally favorable for our country. According to it, we will pay for the fuel and lubricants in three installments. The same also applies to weapons and military equipment we purchased. The last installment will be paid in 1994. Furthermore, Bulgaria could resell the weapons and equipment to a third country, providing that it is not a part of the USSR.

A newly constructed object of the Air Force, not needed both by our civilian aviation and the air force, was not a subject of the talks. Its fate is yet to be determined. Unfortunately, it cannot be transported outside the Bulgarian borders, like other Soviet property we do not need.

Deputy Minister Tanovski pointed out that the issue of the \$50 million the former USSR owes our military-industrial complex will be reviewed at further talks.

Communique With Romania Adopted on Balkan Issues*AU1803081692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Experts from the Bulgarian and Romanian ministries of foreign affairs ended talks in Sofia today with the adoption of a joint communique. The delegations were led by Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev and Teodor Melescanu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

The events and the processes in the Balkans during the last two years and the current situation require new approaches to solving the problems existing between the Balkan states, the communique notes. Bulgaria and Romania are resolved to make efforts to apply European standards in the Balkans; to recognize and take into account the new realities in this part of the continent; and to activate and expand both bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

The two delegations believe that experts from the Balkan countries can prepare a draft document that will be an important prerequisite not only for overcoming the historical burden that weighs down inter-Balkan relations, but also for more quickly integrating the Balkan countries into a united Europe. This document would serve as confirmation of the strong resolve of the states to observe the Helsinki accords and the Paris Charter for a New Europe—recognition of existing borders and renunciation of any form of territorial claims or ambitions—and to express their readiness to solve problems through the mechanisms of the CSCE and the other European institutions.

The joint communique of the Bulgarian-Romanian meeting of experts notes that it would also be beneficial to invite as observers to a future high-level conference the countries

lying geographically adjacent to the Balkans, along with other interested states represented in the CSCE and other European institutions.

National Assembly Discusses Land Law Amendments

*AU1203205692 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—The real owners have the right to get back their land confiscated and redistributed during the communist regime by the presidium of the then parliament, by the Council of State and the communist governments, the Bulgarian parliament decided today at the second reading of the bill on the amendment of the Land Act. The land was given to the nomenklatura and to people loyal to the communist regime. Most probably the bill will be finally passed early next week. Many of its most disputed texts have already been passed. The M.P's [members of parliament] reached a compromise on the cases in which the respective plots of land have already been built-up. This compromise affects 1,200,000 Bulgarians granted plots for personal use.

Rallies for and against the repealing of this paragraph of the Land Act were held until recently in front of the building of the National Assembly. Those who have built-up their plots will preserve their ownership rights. By the end of the year they will have to purchase the land from the former owners at prices fixed by the government. Those who have built buildings with an area of more than 35 square meters and higher than one storey will have to pay additional progressive taxes. Under the amendments passed today, the National Land Board will be closed down. The Ministry of Agriculture and the municipal land commissions will be responsible for the land property. Disputes over the use of the state and municipal land stock and land delimitation will be settled in court. So far these disputes were settled by the National Land Board.

Government Examines Agricultural Problems

*AU1303201992 Sofia BTA in English 1940 GMT
13 Mar 92*

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—1,000 of the 2,500 million leva needed to sow the fields this spring are lacking. No more than half of the necessary herbicides have been secured, fertilizers are in great shortage, the preparation of farming equipment for the spring sowing has been delayed, says the report of the Ministry of Agriculture discussed at an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers today.

The Ministry of Agriculture submitted a programme of some ten items to improve the situation: Tax preferences, loan concessions, subsidies, state guarantees for agricultural loans, the introduction of minimum purchase prices for

agricultural produce. The cabinet rejected most of the items. The ministers decided to rechannel the 400 million leva allocated for agriculture in the 1992 draft budget. 390 million will go in paying interests on agricultural loans, the remaining 10 million in preserving the Genofund. The government will adopt a decision as to the minimum purchase prices at its next session.

According to the minister of agriculture, the spring sowing poses serious problems. The land has not practically been restituted and the amendments to the Land Act which are expected to facilitate restitution have not been adopted yet. The problem of cooperative farms' property is disputable and anyway their fate is still unknown. The cooperative farms cannot take loans which their successors will have to repay. And yet the Minister of Agriculture Stanislav Tsekov believes that the Bulgarian nation is not threatened with starvation.

National Bank Asked To Monitor Commercial Banks

*AU1603091492 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
7-8 Mar 92 p 8*

[Nora Stoichkova report]

[Text] A secret report prepared by the Ministry of Industry and Trade recommends that the Bulgarian National Bank take urgent steps to bring the commercial banks under control and ensure their obedience. Minister Pushkarov claimed a short time ago that the banks were the principal saboteurs of the reform.

According to the report, the commercial banks "failed to respect" the government decisions on easing credit terms for state companies, and also "did not participate in small privatization." They allegedly refused to invest in profit-making production activities, with the aim of creating new jobs.

For example, the Biokhim Commercial Bank invested 300 million leva in the construction of a corn processing plant near Razgrad. The report alleges that when construction was 90 percent complete, the bank stopped the credit for further building work. Prominent U.S. and Belgian firms are said to have their eyes on this plant.

The "Industrial Microbiology" State Company in Razgrad (now called "Antibiotic") owes 100 million leva in interest to the Biokhim Commercial Bank under the contract for constructing the plant, the bank's chairman Boris Mitev informed 24 CHASA. However, as a result of removing monopolies, the plant in question was split off from the company, which accordingly stopped making the interest payments. Despite this, Mr. Mitev added, the Biokhim Bank was continuing to provide credit for construction during 1992.

The bank chief claimed that his bank is losing millions, yet the state owner refuses to guarantee the credits. According to him, more money was being sought at a higher level. The question arises of who will return to Biokhim the 200 million leva it is owed in interest for 1991 and 1992.

Instead of enriching themselves by speculation in foreign currencies, the banks should invest money in the failing economy, and the central bank should take measures "to eliminate the above-mentioned weaknesses" in the banking system.

Dienstbier Comments on Civic Movement Conference

LD1603114192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko
Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Marie Fleissigova from Civic Movement Conference in Prague]

[Text] Five hundred delegates from the whole of the Czech Republic convened in the Atrium Hotel in Prague to discuss tasks for the preelection period. Four workshops and a plenum discussed the most important economic policy issues and the state structure. The nature of these issues and objectives was revealed in a short interview given to our radio station and to television by Jiri Dienstbier who was reelected chairman of the Movement. He said:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] The conference confirmed our free-thinking, liberal policy. We reject efforts to slow down the economic reform as well as efforts to establish it on new theoretical principles. We understand the reform not merely as the reform of some aspects but as a comprehensive reconstruction of the whole of society—political, legal, economic, social, and environmental.

As far as the common state is concerned, this is a very significant issue from an economic, social, and also security point of view. It should be a common state based on free will, on decentralization, but with absolutely clearly defined powers of the common structures. [end recording]

[Fleissigova] Delegates also expressed their stance on the common state in a statement which they adopted this afternoon at the end of their conference. They are highlighting as the main direction in Czech and Slovak policy the search for a form of coexistence and not the search for a way to split. The Civic Movement will therefore continue to negotiate with Slovak and Czech political parties on the post-election situation and in this sense will promote the declaration of a referendum.

At the same time, the statement warns against the efforts of some Czech political forces to promote the disintegration of the common state. Let us add to our report on the two-day conference that, as Ivan Gabal put it at the afternoon news conference, the Civic Movement is consolidated internally and its members are in agreement on political priorities.

Pithart Comments on Corruption, Elections

AU1603081492 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 10 Mar 92 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Czech Republic Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Jan Vavra; place and date not given: "The Way To Bribe..."]

[Excerpts] The corruption of state officials is undoubtedly one of the most painful attributes of foreign capital inflow and transformation of the economy. Since the Czech Prime Minister personally participated in the arrest of the former Agrobanka Director Kral, who attempted to bribe him, we began our interview with this issue.

[Vavra] Mr. Prime Minister, so far you are the only high-ranking official who "robbed his own family" in this manner. Could you tell us what actually happened?

[Pithart] [Passage omitted] Kral was so unbelievably careless, that only two explanations are possible: Either his IQ is below 80—which it certainly is not—or he considered what he did to be a matter of course. He is supposed to have said somewhere: "Gentlemen, it is an absolutely common routine." [passage omitted] When he brought his offer in writing, I believed that he would pick it up as he was leaving the table—but he did not. Of course, I have been informed by people from foreign companies about bribes, but not one of them would speak about it except in private. Under these circumstances, Americans, for instance, are at a great disadvantage. In America, if a company became involved in something like that, it would mean its immediate end. There are countries, however, that are not that strict, and bribes can be included in costs....

Americans say that in this respect, the present Czechoslovakia is comparable with Latin America and that it will take at least 10 years before the problem can be overcome. Here, Americans, with their ideas of fair play, can hardly succeed. [passage omitted]

[Vavra] Let us turn to party issues. What does the failure of the talks between national councils actually mean? Is there a real threat of disintegration of the state, or is nothing happening because the old Constitution remains in effect?

[Pithart] If some kind of a partial agreement is not reached before the elections, the Czecho-Slovak dilemma will become the number one electoral issue. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, it means that the elections will not be a selection of a political program, style, or personality, but another plebiscite. While the first elections were a plebiscite against communists, the second ones could be in Slovakia a plebiscite against the Czechs, and in Bohemia against the Slovaks. The second plebiscite elections in the row, it would be a blow from which our political system might not recover for many years. [passage omitted]

[Vavra] In the event that the state is divided, the Czechs will be haunted by the dominant role of Germany. Should we fight or accept it?

[Pithart] To fight it would mean to make ad hoc rules in certain situations involving the German element. [passage omitted] This would make us completely untrustworthy. [passage omitted] It is precisely the consistency and permanency of rules that provide security that attracts respectable businessmen.

The only thing the government can do is to make up the handicaps others have in comparison with Germany. [passage omitted] We should set up information centers in countries of interest to us so we would offset the advantage Germans have as much as possible. [passage omitted]

[Vavra] You are also deputy chairman of the Civic Movement. Is the departure of Petr Kucera and Zdenek Jicinsky the beginning of a further division of the Civic Movement or its shaping? Another question that remains unanswered concerns the role of the movement after the elections. The

threat is real of a minority left-wing government being formed—of course, with silent support from the communists—and the Civic Movement could be tempted to join. Would you participate in such an experiment?

[Pithart] That is a good question. To be the factor that can tip the scales certainly is an attractive prospect. Fortunately, those who might have been tempted actually chose the most loyal position toward the Civic Movement by leaving the movement. [passage omitted] Nevertheless, I believe that a strong and qualified opposition to such a left-wing oriented government would be of much more benefit than trying to outbalance something at its edge. At this time, I believe that the Civic Movement should resist such a temptation.

[Vavra] Is the animosity between the Civic Movement and the Civic Democratic Party so great as to prevent a post-electoral coalition?

[Pithart] No doubt, internal tensions exist in the Civic Democratic Party. It is, however, a party better organized and more disciplined than most, and therefore until now it has not been so obvious. Recently, Josef Zieleniec admitted that there was not one, but two motives that led people to join the Civic Democratic Party, and understandably these motives do not have much in common. The first one is the "debolshevization" and the second is the radical economic reform. Hence, there also are two wings in the Civic Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

[Vavra] Another topical issue is the "presidential" party. Do you believe that the failure of the presidential initiatives was given by the method that cast doubt on the principles of democracy, or by their content? Or by both?

[Pithart] The label "presidential party" caught on, but I would not confirm the president's involvement. Nevertheless, it is the first of the neotypes [novotvar] that apparently will emerge after the Czechoslovak elections. It is held together by the will for a common state, but that does not tell me anything. I want to know how one intends to set up this state. [passage omitted] The party might get plenty of votes, but I do not know what it will do when it comes down to ordinary politics. It would have to start to disintegrate immediately just like the Civic Forum did....

[Vavra] Nonetheless, it has been established....

[Pithart] I do not see it as being viable. It is a party against parties—thereby it really reminds of the former foolish and not entirely fair Civic Forum ("Parties are for party members, the Civic Forum is for everybody"). I do not see, however, any guarantee of the common state in their proclamations. I believe that in its hue of the obsolete and at the same time condescending Czechoslovakism, it is exactly the opposite, that it is a mine under the common state. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, noble motives are not important. These people mean well, but it does not convince me.

Miklosko Explains KDH Transfer, Views Alliance

AU1603092692 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK
in Slovak 12 Mar 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Marta Ruzickova; place and date not given: "The Idea of an Alliance Is Being Formulated"]

[Excerpts] After the 1990 elections it was Frantisek Miklosko who enabled the two political entities that won the most votes finally to reach a compromise solution on who should hold the two most senior posts in the Slovak Republic. Now he has publicly declared his support for the Christian Democrats and has announced his move from the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] Party to the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. This move has been anticipated for some time, but was made officially this week.

[Ruzickova] When did this decision begin to materialize?

[Miklosko] This issue gradually began to be discussed sometime during the second half of the electoral period. I had intimated that I was experiencing an internal dilemma about where I should align myself. During these two years, those of us who entered into politics were absolutely inexperienced politicians. Now each of us has to decide in his own way about politics as an occupation and has to find a place where he thinks he can best carry out this occupation. It seems to me that I would like to become involved here, in the Christian Democratic Movement. [passage omitted]

[Ruzickova] How was your decision received in the ODU-VPN?

[Miklosko] I am not just saying this to make myself seem more important, but they said they would respect my decision even though they also stated they would be glad if I stayed and helped to establish the Christian wing represented at the moment by Jan Langos. When I informed them of my decision and of the circumstances under which I made it, they accepted it amicably.

[Ruzickova] What conditions did you set for transferring to the KDH?

[Miklosko] If we call them conditions, let us call them conditions in parentheses. I said that the KDH cannot continue to function in such a schizophrenic manner, with one part wanting one thing and the other part wanting something else. These two concepts were so disparate that it was necessary for one of them to decide. Sooner or later one force would destroy the other. At every step of the way we saw that these were two absolutely different concepts. I stated for the second time that I do not want to enter into a coalition with Meciar and his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. I know this problem very well and from very close quarters. A coalition with them is unacceptable to me.

[Ruzickova] Did you receive a response to your conditions?

[Miklosko] From the movement's representatives. It was positive.

[Ruzickova] From your position as parliamentary chairman, how do you view preelection activity?

[Miklosko] I feel that the situation that developed during the late 1940's—especially after 1946—is repeating itself. This was a significant year on account of the fact that people who had often opposed each other in the Slovak Republic, even indirectly in the Uprising, understood the dangers presented by communism. They united in a single party and won the elections. I feel we are faced with the return of the old structures, structures endowed with the genetically imprinted methods of the past 40 years—corruption, authoritarianism, revengefulness, and incivility. In my opinion, a clear alliance should be formed here. I do not mean a coalition, but an alliance that, as in 1946, would offer the population two possibilities: Either vote for these parties in a single party or vote for other parties. The main emphasis in Slovakia should be placed on bolstering democracy. If we defend it now and those who held stewardship here in the past do not return to power, we will have done well. It is necessary to stake everything on one card. In my opinion, defending democracy and developing and crystalizing the political scene in Slovakia is—and time will tell—a national program par excellence. A Slovakia structured differently—in chaos, confusion, and ambiguity—will not endure in populism, but will collapse.

[Ruzickova] The idea of an alliance is, so far, only your idea. Or, is it beginning to be delineated?

[Miklosko] We are beginning to discuss it more openly.

Parliament Discusses Budget, Wage Policies

AU1703160592 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 13 Mar 92 pp 1, 16

[NEL, JIK article: "A Surplus: What to Do About It?"]

[Text] Prague—It took more than an hour before the Federal Assembly deputies passed a relatively concise resolution on the CSFR government report yesterday—the report on the fulfillment of the 1991 federation budget and the aggregate of the republican budgets.

Of the original draft resolution prepared by the Committees for the Plan and Budget, only the first point stating that the deputies noted the government report was included in the resolution. The remaining text is the result of the fact that an amendment to the resolution was passed—an amendment prepared by the Civic Democratic Alliance Club of Deputies. In the resolution, the deputies are tasking the government with providing information about the measures the government will implement after the IMF criterion has not been met—failure to meet this criterion was caused by the budget deficit. Further, the government must present to parliament a draft amendment to the law on budgetary rules of the federation, in which the government will define responsibility of constitutional bodies for establishing the principles of financial and budgetary policy and its coordination between all three governments. Deputies have not passed the government draft regarding the distribution of the budget surplus, as proposed by Vaclav Klaus on Tuesday [10 March]. Neither, however, did they pass a passage in the

resolution presented by the Committees for the Plan and Budget in which it is suggested that the government proposal on the division of the surplus be rejected. V. Tomis' (the Club of Successor Political Parties) [Klub Naslednych Politickych Stran] suggestion that parliament should express a no-confidence vote on Minister Klaus also was rejected.

Parliament expressed approval with the treaties on the protection of and support for investments which the CSFR concluded with Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Greece. At a separate meeting of the Chamber of Nations, the law on the wages of CSFR Supreme Court judges, judges, and article clerks of military courts was passed. On the previous day, this law did not get enough votes.

The government draft amendment to the law on telecommunications was explained by CSFR Minister of Communications Ehrenberger. Passing the amendment is, according to him, necessary for the privatization of telecommunications. Due to the nature of the draft amendments, the vote was postponed.

The government bill on wages and remuneration for being on call is part of the general CSFR wage reform. It applies to employees, armed forces members, and Security Corps members in active service. The draft fixes the minimum wage in 12 wage groups (from 2,200 to 5,700 korunas—for example, a graduate student should receive a minimum starting salary of 3,500 korunas), bonuses for supervision, substituting for other workers, working at night and on weekends, pay and compensatory time for overtime, and special and personal bonuses, etc. The draft repeals some 37 current regulations. In the debate, B. Janca (Civic Movement) said that workers in the education and health care sectors are particularly impatient for this law to pass. J. Musilek (Civic Movement) provided a detailed explanation of problems in the education system. The low esteem it is held in is linked to, among other things, low wages. These wages are 87 percent of the national average. The voting on the draft amendments and the entire law was postponed until today.

Government Distributes Federal Budget Surplus

AU1603094092 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 11 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[JOP report: The Surplus of the Federation Has Been Distributed"]

[Text] In its session yesterday, the Federal Government approved eight bills. This number is to reach 35 by 13 March, which equals the original legislative plan for six months.

The surplus of the federation state budget for last year, which amounts to 6.39 billion korunas, will be used as follows: 2,276 million korunas will provide subsidies to cover the deficit in the republican budgets to the sum of one-half of the actual amount of the suspended levies on 11th and 12th-month of 1991 wages in agricultural organizations, 1.2 billion korunas to cover the Czechoslovak State Railroads credit payments to the Investicni banka Prague, 2

billion korunas to cover last year's claims of the Czechoslovak State Railroads' external contractors, 800 million korunas to cover the enterprise losses resulting from the embargo against Iraq, and 114 million korunas to cover those needs of the federation not included in the budget and subject to approval by the Federal Government. At the news conference following the government session, CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky added that a segregation from the 114 million-korunas reserves of funds for humane purposes for our citizens, for an extraordinary subsidy to the social security fund, etc. is under consideration.

The approved bill on foreign currency, if adopted by the parliament, will enable an expansion of the internal convertibility to all businesses without limitation. At the same time, it proposes an abolishment in the territory of the CSFR of the sale of goods for foreign currency. The amendment also makes it possible for non-resident aliens to acquire ownership of real estate without government approval in the event of inheritance, or reciprocal procurement by another state for diplomatic purposes, or spousal joint ownership—if one or them is a citizen, or trade of one piece of real estate for another one, already owned here by the non-resident alien, with the right of pre-emption guaranteed, or construction on own property, and in the instances provided for in the appropriate law (restitutions).

The amendment to the Labor Law, which has also been approved by the Federal Government, deals with conflict of interest on the part of government employees. It assigns them the duty of acting and deciding impartially (even in their civic life), bans them from receiving any gifts or advantages, and requires reticence regarding information they learned because of their position. No state administration employee should—if the amendment is adopted by the Federal Assembly—be a member of a management board of legal persons conducting business, or conduct business without prior approval by the organization. No employees without exception (i.e. even outside the state administration), should engage in activities other than their employment in the organization, if identical work is involved (plumbing, for instance), without written permission from the organization.

The amendment to the Law on Employment, also adopted by the government, emphasizes the material-security motivation for a job applicant. According to Rychetsky, the documentation submitted by Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, assumes even more than one million unemployed. One should be able to collect unemployment up to one year in the amount of 60 percent of the previous average income, and longer only while being retrained (up to 80 percent of wages). The bill on abolishing work classification (until now, three categories have been considered for awarding pensions) was also approved. Rychetsky specified that this law would not actually affect workers until 2016.

According to another approved bill, the notary public should cease to exist. This act, however, requires an adoption of 11 bills (three federal, four each the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council), and all must take effect at the same time. The originally proposed date of 1

July does not seem to be realistic to Rychetsky. A date after 1 January of next year could be realistically considered.

Prosecutor: Past Regime Acts Cannot Be Prosecuted
AU1703131792 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Mar 92 p 2

[CSTK report: "The Prosecutor's Office at the Crossroads"]

[Text] According to Czech Republic Prosecutor General Ludvik Brunner, prosecutors fear that a situation may arise in which prosecutors will be forced to proceed not only against their conscience, but also against valid laws. "We can see more and more frequently that a politicized interpretation of the law—an interpretation that pays very little attention to the laws applicable in criminal proceedings—is preferred to the exact interpretation of the law," Czech Republic Prosecutor General said in his statement yesterday. According to Brunner, those who prosecuted the behavior qualified as subversive before November 1989, bear only moral and political responsibility. If the law was not deliberately violated, then they cannot be criminally prosecuted.

Brunner further says that the Prosecutor's Office is at the crossroads. "We will either proceed according to the law, and then we will have to reconcile ourselves with the idea that these activities cannot be prosecuted, or we will prosecute them, knowing that we violate not only the law but also human rights, since one of the human rights is not to be prosecuted illegally," Brunner says. According to the Czech Republic prosecutor general, at the moment, Prosecutor's Office and political parties differ in their opinion on the interpretation of the law.

List of Political Parties Supplement
AU1603112692 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 92 p 11

[AS report: "Political Parties and Movements"]

[Text] The list of political parties and movements has grown longer again and their number is slowly approaching 120. Even though three nationally-oriented parties in Slovakia (Movement for an Independent Slovakia, Slovak People's Party, and Slovak National Unification Party) merged last weekend, four new parties have emerged recently. Inadvertently, we also failed to include in the informative list that we published last week an additional three parties.

Agrarian Party [Agrarni strana]. Its history dates back to the 19th century. It resumed operation on 6 January 1990 as successor to the Republican Party of Farmers and Smallholders, which was banned under the Kosice Government Program [of 1945]. The party builds on the traditions and legacy of Doctor Antonin Svehla. It was originally registered as the Agrarian Party of the Civic Forum. Chairman Milos Vanura.

Romany Civic Initiative [Romska obcanska iniciativa] (ROI). Founded in November 1989. Defines itself as a right-wing party. The model of constitutional setup that it

supports is based on federal lands, which need not depend on the national principle. It will contest this year's elections with its own list of candidates. Chairman Emil Scuka.

Republican Union [Republikanska unie]. Created through the merger of four parties that were founded in December 1989. Chairman Igor Klimovic.

Democrats 92 For a Common State [Demokrati 92 za spolecny stat]. Electoral alliance, the members of which are not burdened by the past. Seeks the delegation of power and decisionmaking to communities and regions, a quick and conceptual solution to environmental problems, and cooperation with all reasonable partners. A preparatory committee of this federal movement is operating.

Movement for Social Justice [Hnuti za socialni spravdlnost] (HSS). Registered in February 1992, its declared aim is to avert the threatening collapse of the Czechoslovak economy. Chairman M. Lakatos.

Association of Republicans [Sdruzeni republikanu]. Taking shape from among former members of Sladek's Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia. The preparatory committee is headed by Jiri Kohut.

Slovak Christian Democratic Movement [Slovenske kresťansko demokraticke hnuti] (SKDH). Established a few days

ago with the breaking away of the so-called Klepac wing from the Christian Democratic Movement. Its constituent congress is to be held before the end of March.

LIDOVE NOVINY has received supplements to, and comments on, the published list. The Prague Mothers objected that they are not part of the Political Party of Women and Mothers but an independent civic ecological movement that has no political aspirations and does not intend to run in the forthcoming elections. Jan Stern Sr. asked us to inform our readers that he never was and is not chairman of the Civil Liberties Movement [HOS], according to the statutes of which such a post does not exist. In March 1990 the movement's coordinating committee asked him to register HOS, which is how his name got into the list of addresses. He left HOS on 4 November 1991. Mr. Missik, Democratic Party deputy chairman, draws attention to the fact that his party does not belong to the liberal center but that it is a right-wing party that wants to appeal mainly to businessmen and the intelligentsia. Mr. Oplustil, deputy chairman of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS], specifies that only the party's deputies to the Federal Assembly have split into HSD-SMS I and HSD-SMS II. There has been no such division among its members.

Environment Minister on Bos Dam Controversy*AU1303094892 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 11 Mar 92 p 5*

[Interview with Environmental Protection Minister Sandor K. Keresztes by correspondent OS; place and date not given: "A Solution Without Emotions"]

[Text] After a meeting held in Győr on 9 March, Sandor Keresztes declared that we need a compromise technical solution for the river barrage at Bos because, otherwise, the Szigetköz area will be destroyed. The Danube Circle called on Sandor Keresztes to resign. Sandor Keresztes said that a politician has to get used to being attacked from various sides, but these were politician's, rather than expert statements.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What do you mean by a compromise technical solution?

[Keresztes] The CSFR informed us in an informal way last year about ways of finding alternative technical solutions by rebuilding or dismantling the project. In my professional opinion, among these alternatives there is one that implies minimal ecological risk, and thus is not a compromise and, at the same time, is a technical solution that would hopefully satisfy the Slovaks. I think it is very important to jointly examine this alternative, if the Slovak side also agrees to do this.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Does this duality disturb you, namely that, while you opposed the river barrage project before, the task has now fallen in your lap, as a decision-making official?

[Keresztes] Although I sympathized with the anti-Bos movements, I have never been a member of these organizations. I dealt with this problem as an independent expert and I prepared the regional plan for the Szigetköz area at that time. Perhaps I am in an advantageous position in this respect, because I am not bound by emotions, but have a thorough knowledge of the issue. Therefore, I dare say that we could find a solution if we cut out emotions and if both sides sought existing technological solutions from sober political considerations. However, one thing should be made clear here too, and I have differences of views with the old Danube Circle in this respect, namely that, in my opinion, the dismantling of the project is not a solution in itself because this does not solve earlier ecological problems. This is where we have differences of opinion. We have similar goals, but our methods are different.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is your opinion about the Danube Circle's demand for your resignation?

[Keresztes] As an environmental protection minister, my job is to solve this problem in some way. However, the task of the environmental movements is to try to impose their opinion on the government by means of declarations and demonstrations. They should not be blamed for this because this is their job.

Radio-TV Bill Proposes Ownership Changes*LD1203175692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 92*

[Text] It is conceivable that Hungarian radio and Hungarian television will operate in the form of public foundations. At least this compromise seems to be the one now that the parties will accept in the third version of the media law. Gabor Kereszti reports on the session of the press subcommittee.

[Kereszti] According to the Hungarian Democratic Forum proposal, the ownership functions of TV and radio will be performed by a public foundation which will be operated by a curatorium in accordance with the parliamentary proportion of the parties.

Ferenc Kulin, who outlined the government's stance, said that the 1990 law on appointments should not be included in the media law being prepared, because it is good as it is. This was rejected by Miklos Haraszti of the SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats]. In his view the legal rule on appointments should indeed be included in the law which is now being formulated. It, however, turned out from Haraszti's words that the SzDSz is ready to accept the ownership form of public foundation.

In the opinion of FIDESz [Federation of Young Democrats], only if operated as share companies would they guarantee the independence of the institutions. The deputies heard Laszlo Csucs, the new radio vice president, who believes that Hungarian radio should operate as a public institution in accordance with budgetary economic rules. In other words, radio would get some target support from the budget on the one hand, and on the other hand it would return all income from its own commercial activity to the public foundation.

Gabor Banyai, TV intendant in charge, also spoke and continued to insist that TV should manage its finances as a share company. Commercial stations and their independence, according to the bill, would be managed by the Radio and TV Office, the president of which would be appointed by the prime minister at the recommendation of a social committee operating close to the office.

Jan Current Account Shows \$300 Million Surplus*LD1603181392 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT
16 Mar 92*

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI-ECONews)—According to preliminary figures, the country's current account showed a surplus of 300 million USD [United States dollars] in January. MTI has learned from National Bank of Hungary sources. This compares to figures of 267 million USD in 1991 and 127 million USD in 1990. The surplus, much of which emerged in January but was influenced by effects reaching over from last year, was primarily the result of a rapid increase in exports. With imports falling, the trade surplus worked out at 210 million USD.

Tourism, meanwhile, registered a surplus of 9-10 million USD in January. Direct foreign cash investment amounted to 80-85 million USD, while the NBH [National Bank of

Hungary] reserves grew by 100 million USd in January and currently amount to 4.1-4.2 billion USd, compared to 4 billion USd at the end of December last year and 1.16 billion USd in December 1990. Net interest payments for

January amounted to 50 million USd. The NBH expects the current account to break even this year. However, if the GDP begins to grow, the current account could show a deficit of up to 500 million USd, it says.

Walesa Interviewed on Government Stability*LD1703221692 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT
17 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—"I think things are not that bad," was President Lech Walesa's reply to a question on whether he did not fear the present government would fall if the Sejm rejected the draft budget for 1992. The question was put by reporters of the WALL STREET JOURNAL and HANDELSBLATT newspapers who interviewed Walesa Tuesday. However, the president added that a fall of the cabinet would be "a disaster". In such a situation, if the political parties could not agree on a candidate for a new prime minister, Walesa was ready to act as one. "This would be the last resort, since there are many other options," he said. The president repeated his stand that a new constitution should be adopted in a national referendum. He also came out for the broadening of the government coalition.

Answering questions concerning Russia, Walesa warned the West against committing the same mistakes which had been made in dealing with Poland in the recent two years. The mistakes, according to the president, consisted in "flooding the Polish market with cheap products which led to the decline in domestic production and a rise in unemployment". "If reforms in Russia fail, this will destabilize Poland as well. Their (the Russians') success means our success," said Walesa. Asked if he had no fears that democracy in Eastern Europe will not take root and some new Stalin will emerge, Walesa replied: "Stalin was possible because times were different then. Our revolution is not the brainchild of politicians, it is the fruit of civilizational progress."

Government-Solidarity Confrontation Foreseen*LD1703230792 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT
17 Mar 92*

[Text] Gdansk, March 17—"In view of the coming date of the government-Solidarity plenary talks, we say that the hitherto course of contacts provides greater chances for confrontation rather than for agreement," says a statement of the presidium of the Solidarity National Commission that debated in Gdansk Tuesday. The government does not treat Solidarity as a partner, the debaters said. This is shown by the fact that, despite their agreements, the government did not supply Solidarity with a number of documents that were to be the subject of further talks, including the assumptions of the social policy and the assumptions for drawing up the 1992 budget. The government also rigidly adheres to one solution during the talks, not offering any variants, and rejects most Solidarity alternative proposals, the statement says. Solidarity deemed the government policy of not informing the union about assigning funds granted as part of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme of EC assistance to Eastern and Central European countries a highly blameworthy one. "The hitherto way of holding talks by the government questions its intentions," press spokesman for the Solidarity National Commission Andrzej Adamczyk said.

Skubiszewski Gives Foreign Policy Report To Sejm*LD1703224692 Warsaw PAP in English 1150 GMT
17 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski Tuesday pointed to lessened military threat due to the discontinued East-West conflict and lack of stabilization in the East as two major factors that determine Poland's international situation. Skubiszewski is presenting his report on Polish foreign policy to the Sejm (Lower House) Foreign Affairs Committee.

Describing Polish Eastern policy as consistent and adapted to changes going on in the East, Minister Skubiszewski stated Poland would continue her active policy towards her Eastern neighbours and some members of the Commonwealth of Independent States with a view to establishing "political and economic links resembling those other European states have with their friends." He said Poland would act towards Russia's and other former Soviet republics' joining treaties on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and ban on chemical ones as soon as possible. Poland is also going to deepen her relations with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and eliminate problems in Polish-Lithuanian relations stemming from the restrictive policy towards Lithuanian Poles.

As concerns Poland's relations with Germany, the minister pointed to the need of working out settlements on border cooperation and a larger German investment in Poland instead of "numerous but short-lived commercial companies which gain profits and disappear", he said. Skubiszewski underlined the Foreign Ministry was following closely issues related to the Polish-German reconciliation foundation set up to gain funds for compensations for Nazi victims.

Says European Ties 'Top Priority'*LD1703190892 Warsaw PAP in English 1454 GMT
17 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—Ties with Europe in the fields of economy, security and defense are the top priority in activities of the Polish Foreign Ministry, its head, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee here Tuesday. In his report to the committee the minister stressed the importance of the forthcoming ratification by parliament of Poland's association treaty with the European Communities. "The ratification is an important and urgent task for the parliament and the government," said he.

As equally important Skubiszewski termed Poland's cooperation with NATO and the West European Union, bilateral relations with Germany and France, and trilateral cooperation between Warsaw, Bonn and Paris. Poland will be active in regional European cooperation ventures, such as the Visegrad triangle, the Baltic states conferences and the Hexagonale Group, now renamed Central European Initiative, Skubiszewski announced.

The minister said relations with countries east of Poland were very important. In relations with Russia the single most crucial issue was regulation of the pullout of the former

Soviet Army from Poland. One of the priority tasks of his ministry is to ensure equal treatment of Poles living abroad with local citizens, Skubiszewski said.

Olechowski Comments on Economic Reform

PM1703154692 Paris LE FIGARO in French
16 Mar 92 p 11

[Interview with Polish Finance Minister Andrzej Olechowski by Christophe Turowski in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Turowski] The new reform program has been strongly criticized on the left and the right both by Polish deputies and by international financial institutions. What is your line of defense?

[Olechowski] This criticism here in Poland bears little relationship to reality. First, the program is deemed to be too general. Second, it is regarded as essentially bad. The criticism from abroad is based on the situation at the end of last year. It is true that our provisional budget then made provision for a deficit of 10 percent of GNP, which seems enormous. We will therefore make every effort not to exceed 5 percent.

At all events, we will need to obtain special powers for the government whereas in the current system, dominated by parliamentary power, the government has no decisive or executive power. In this respect, we are dreaming of paragraph 49.3 [of the French Constitution] which is used in France.

[Turowski] How will you convince the World Bank and the IMF?

[Olechowski] We have invited experts from those institutions to visit Poland to work with us on the final draft of the budget. They will see that our estimates are realistic and that our financial plan is credible. As social spending is increasing much faster than profits, we know that we will have to drastically reduce the social budget.

[Turowski] How?

[Olechowski] By reducing family allowances and disability pensions, by eliminating the possibility of men retiring before 65 and women before 60, by reducing welfare benefits, and limiting unemployment benefits. Despite these draconian measures, the social budget will increase by 80

percent and will go from 25-36 percent of GNP. But the present situation forces us to abandon some of our past achievements.

It is important to realize that in Poland there are 8 retired people for every 10 workers in all sectors of the economy other than agriculture. In addition to that there are 2 million unemployed who receive benefits. The state is therefore paying out far more in benefits than it receives in contributions.

[Turowski] In these conditions, is it nonetheless possible to hope for changes?

[Olechowski] The fears expressed at the scale of all these problems are perfectly understandable. But it is the country's credibility which is at stake and not that of a particular government. With or without Balcerowicz (former finance minister who introduced the first reform program—LE FIGARO editor's note), we must break this vicious circle.

[Turowski] Before the Polish prime minister visits France, you are going to visit the IMF and World Bank in Washington. What are your objectives?

[Olechowski] First, to guarantee to the IMF that the present budget will not be an obstacle to the continuation of dialogue. Second, to secure the support of the World Bank. For that we must obtain three major decisions. On the restructuring of the Polish financial and banking system, in the framework of a reduction of our debt. On the active struggle against unemployment. On the investment strategy and, finally in the sphere of infrastructure be it roads, railroads, telecommunications, or the protection of the environment.

Finally we would like to obtain aid for small- and medium-sized enterprises and industries from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

[Turowski] What message can you now give to potential foreign investors?

[Olechowski] The only thing which can convince them is a tangible Polish economic recovery, or the first signs of such a recovery. If we achieve our objectives, they will be convinced. And nobody will be indifferent toward a country which has 38 million inhabitants!

[Turowski] What do you expect from your relations with France?

[Olechowski] First, to destroy the bitterness which we observe and for which there is no real justification.

Democratic Convention Urged To Preserve Unity*AU1503200292 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 11 Mar 92 p 1*

[Tia Serbanescu article: "The Time Crisis"]

[Text] It is undeniably strange that, considering the date of the general elections, the election campaign has not begun. On the one hand, because that date is still uncertain. The date of 17 May proposed by Prime Minister Stolojan is utopian, because it seems impossible for the parliament to adopt the necessary laws in just a few days. In both cases—that it would adopt those laws on schedule (17 March) or that it would adopt them with a certain delay—it is clear that there is a delay and that limiting the election campaign to only two months may make any candidacy look improvised and like a propaganda "of strength." Under such circumstances, the candidates with advantages are those who already have political credit and those who, because of their social position, have the necessary means to "make headway" every single day in an unofficial electoral campaign. For this reason, presidential candidacies, for instance, offer an incomplete but edifying picture. A long list of candidates is forecast. Some of them are supported by their own parties; others are running as independents. It is clear that independent presidential candidates have no chance. If this was possible for the position of mayor, bearing in mind that a person may be known in his town or commune or recognized as such, this is impossible when it comes to the whole country unless we are talking about nationally recognized figures. At this point, not even the candidates who are supported by a strong party have any chance of succeeding in their struggle for the position of president. In the current situation, the only candidates with a chance are those who have secured the support of numerous parties with noncontradictory platforms. The ruling party seems to have understood this and its latest "moves" indicate a number of changes designed—if the Iliescu-Romania rivalry will be overcome or negotiated away—to avoid two candidacies. If the Front is able to nominate a single presidential candidate and set up alliances with the satellite parties with which it is close, not so much because of platforms and aspirations but because of mutual interests and the past, then its candidate will benefit from the tremendous propaganda machinery and funds at its disposal which no other party has. In this case, the Democratic Convention [CD]—in order to confirm the local elections—has not only the obligation to preserve its unity and nominate a single candidate, a sine qua non for competing with the tremendous FSN propaganda, but to increase its support by admitting other parties and organizations of clear democratic orientation and with which it was not united previously, either because of temporary misunderstandings or because of personality conflicts. It goes without saying that personal ambitions, which often

undermined the unity of the opposition and the coherence of its actions, have to be subordinated to the team spirit. Logically, the Front cannot win unless the Convention loses. This will happen if it neglects the organizational requirements and team spirit, and if it does not pay due attention to the requirements of the electorate. Being better organized, more experienced in making use of people's habits, having more funds and other resources to deal with the interests and vanities of certain politicians, and backed by masses of activists and functionaries holding various "leading" positions, the Front could shatter the Convention's victories won in the local elections, which would thus remain insignificant and not be consolidated. The Democratic Convention can only claim a moral advantage, namely the imminence of change which is felt by everyone (including the Front), but which only the Democratic Convention can fairly claim by proposing new leaders and a different social concept.

To capitalize on this moral advantage, the Democratic Convention has to work without making any mistakes; it has to work rapidly and try to make up for the lack of time which it already faces (Messrs. Iliescu and Roman, the presumed Front candidates, have long since begun their pre-electoral campaign) by that opening which I mentioned, by avoiding any gaffes and personal misunderstandings, and by proposing a single candidate and single lists for the presidential and general elections which are loyally supported by all members. This is its only chance and should not be missed. Otherwise, we will lose another four years of democracy. This would be unforgivable, because the beginning has been made.

Violence Against Transdnestr Romanians Condemned*AU1703212092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2044 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/3/1992—A statement of the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN] says: The actions of force, the armed attacks, the terrorization of the Romanian population in Transdnestr in the last few days show that the disintegration of the Soviet communist empire means not only the winning of freedom by the oppressed peoples that were subject to de nationalization but also violent resistance of reactionary, anti-democratic forces which cannot give up the methods of a communist-type domination.

The situation of the current international relationships in which the democratic will is stronger than ever entitles us to say that the underway tragical conflict can and must be condemned by the entire international community. Fully aware of the gravity of this situation as well as of our, of all Romanians' responsibility, and considering our cultural-historical identity, we assert our determination to be alongside the Moldovans in these moments of heavy trial by all the means guaranteeing the liberty of people and of their conscience, in the spirit of peace and democracy values.

International

Republics Purchase 'Enormous' Amounts of Arms

LD1703134792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0925 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 17 (TANJUG)—The feuding Yugoslav nations have lately been receiving enormous quantities of weaponry and other equipment for waging war—equally from countries of the thriving NATO and the defunct Warsaw Treaty, and from neutral countries. Four of Yugoslavia's seven neighbours have been engaged in the lucrative business of exporting weaponry to Yugoslavia. And all this despite two resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council expressly banning all arms deliveries to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Parliament has been briefed about the problem in a document drawn up by four federal institutions—the ministries of foreign affairs, the interior and defence, and the federal customs administration. The document clearly said that the biggest buyer of weaponry is the breakaway republic of Croatia, and the biggest suppliers are Austria, Hungary and Germany. Right next to them are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland and Switzerland, as well as some non-European countries—Argentina, Chile, Hong-Kong, Panama, South Africa....

The other breakaway Yugoslav Republic, Slovenia, is right next to Croatia in terms of arms imports. Informed sources insist, although the document did not say so, that some Islamic countries are beginning to follow the lead of the arms exporters. The beginning of the sharp rise in the arms imports into Yugoslavia bypassing the competent federal organs can be dated back to mid-1990, shortly after the coming to power in Croatia of Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) counter-intelligence service had at the time filmed a retired Croat colonel-general plotting with his associates to illegally import twenty thousand Kalashnikov assault rifles in ten lorries from Hungary. The film was shown on national television, but that was all either the army or the federal state have chosen to do in the matter, and the offenders have never been prosecuted.

Since then, the assortment of weaponry has been diversified, with hand-held rocket launchers, guns, howitzers, various types of missiles, tanks, even planes (nothing more serious than Cessnas, though) pouring into Yugoslavia. There are reports of plans for super-sonic fighters, and that pilots for them are being trained in Germany. Col-Gen. Antun Tus, the commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and a Croat by birth, has fled his federal post and gone to do the job in his native Croatia. The information about the illegal importation of weaponry and military equipment, as the document is officially known, carries some facts which are bordering on the unbelievable. Such a one is that the Croatian Defence Ministry is buying 'red mercury' from a Vienna-based firm, with a view to re-selling the component for fuses for nuclear weapons and rocket fuel and thus raising enough cash for the much-wanted arms. Drugs are believed to be used in the same way.

The land routes used to smuggle arms into Yugoslavia go across Austria and Hungary, and the Croatian ports of Ploce, Rijeka and Split and the Slovenian port of Koper are the reception points for maritime shipments, the document said. This is the route also for deliveries from Bulgaria.

Arms smugglers are using also airports in Croatia and Slovenia. Last year, the JNA seized a Ugandan plane laden with arms and ammunition on Zagreb's pleso airport. In Croatia, a number of firms are specializing in arms imports. The document lists such firms as Prometej, Como, Ribomatejaj.... In October last year, the Croatian Defence Ministry paid into an Austrian bank account 61 million dollars for a shipment of T-72 tanks. A Swiss firm has been paid 90 million dollars for 120 tanks from Hong-Kong. Croatia bought 16,500 Kalashnikovs with 9 million rounds of ammunition at one go. It is likely that there are deals that the authors of the document know nothing about.... The federal parliament also heard that in 1989, Yugoslavs had 1.6 pieces of licenced fire-arms. Since then, and since the outbreak of war in Croatia, the number has risen steeply, but the Federal Interior Ministry does not have specific information about the current numbers.

Official Details Diplomatic Network Abroad

LD1703233192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2137 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav diplomatic network abroad is at moment made up of 85 embassies and 21 consulates, as Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary Sultanovic announced today. Sultanovic said at the parliament foreign policy [word indistinct] that, due to the developments in the country, above all the secession of certain republics, only 40 embassies and 9 consulates general still have all their staff, while 14 posts of ambassador and as many consulates were abolished. Sultanovic said that embassies and consulates with incomplete staff "are functioning normally". According to the figures Sultanovic gave, 1,090 of 2,400 Yugoslav foreign ministry employees left their jobs over the past three years.

In keeping with the developments in the country, the exodus of Foreign Ministry employees last year was based on nationality. The decisions on setting up the independent and sovereign states in the breakaway republics of Croatia and Slovenia were carried out differently. Seventy-nine Slovene employees left the Foreign Ministry together. There were around 300 Croats and Serbs from Croatia in the federal diplomacy. Some of them immediately responded to the "call of their fatherland", some were recalled (some of them, as Sultanovic said, unwillingly obeyed the decision of their republican authorities), while some 50 employees decided "to remain and work on behalf of Yugoslavia". He specified that mostly professionals were in question and that three of them held "high posts".

Macedonians recently announced they would withdraw their diplomats (70 in all) from the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry. Macedonian ambassadors and general consuls are to leave their posts by March 31 and all other Macedonian Foreign Ministry employees by April 15. Some of them, like

their [word indistinct] colleagues, have decided not to answer their republic's recall, Sultanovic said.

According to the figures Sultanovic cited, the Foreign Ministry has in the meantime filled in these vacancies with staff from Serbia and Montenegro, the republics which still have not requested international recognition and which decided to remain in Yugoslavia. Sultanovic said that the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry now has around 1,800 employees on its payroll and that their final number will depend on the needs of the new common state. Sultanovic added that Yugoslavia succeeded in keeping 127 premises it owns abroad. He said that all states have enabled the protection of this property, except for Austria, which allowed the embassy in Vienna to be "usurped on Croatia's behalf".

Interrepublic

Gligorov, Kucan Back Arms Limitation Agreement

LD1703222192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and Slovenian President Milan Kucan led delegations at talks on establishing diplomatic relations between the two states in Skopje today. A statement issued by the Macedonian president's office says that both sides expressed interest in promoting traditionally good economic, political, and cultural relations. Both sides feel that this is in the interest of both independent and sovereign states, as well as in the interest of regional peace.

Special reference was made during the talks to both countries' efforts at the EC peace conference on Yugoslavia. It was pointed out that an arms limitation agreement must be reached within the sphere of a constructive solution to the Yugoslav crisis and a democratic solution to relations between the former Yugoslav Republics. This agreement, within the EC ambit, would be open to other Balkan and Central European countries. Both sides expressed the view that all six republics are equal and legitimate SFRY successor states. It was decided that denotation and delegitimation of Federal organs in international organs and institutions must be completed. Both Slovenia and Macedonia are interested in CSCE membership. An agreement was signed during today's meeting abolishing visas between the two Republics.

Macedonian Border With Kosovo To Remain Open

LD1703205792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1733 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Pristina, Mar 17 (TANJUG)—The borders between Kosovo and Macedonia will remain open, as set out in a statement of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) published in the Pristina daily SKENDIJA today. The statement was issued after the talks between the delegations of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the DSK in the Macedonian capital of Skopje. The delegations were headed by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and DSK leader Ibrahim Rugova.

The province of Kosovo and Metohija is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia. Ethnic Albanians who live there

have the status of a national minority and enjoy much greater rights than it is the practice elsewhere in Europe. The DSK is Kosovo's largest opposition party of ethnic Albanians who boycott all political activities in the republic. They also demand that the province secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia, and that "Republic of Kosovo" be proclaimed. The aspirations of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo are contrary to the Yugoslav Constitution and all international documents on the status and the rights of national minorities. Under the Yugoslav Constitution, only the peoples of Yugoslavia have the right to secede. The statement said Kosovo and Macedonia "as two units of former Yugoslavia, will look for their identity in the framework of the process of European integration." Macedonia applied for recognition to the European Community last year, but has not been recognized yet. Only Bulgaria and Turkey have recognized it so far.

Serbia, Montenegro Discuss Constitutional Issues

LD1703180392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The consultations between the leaders of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro to discuss the main issues concerning the constitutional reorganization of Yugoslavia were resumed in Belgrade today. According to a statement for the public, which we are transmitting in full, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency; Branko Kostic, vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency; Dr Borisav Jovic, a member of the Yugoslav Presidency; assembly presidents Aleksandar Bakocevic and Dr Risto Vukcevic; and Dr Radoman Bozovic and Milo Djukanovic, respectively the Serbian and Montenegrin premiers, took part in the talks.

Presidents of the National Assembly of Serbia and of the Montenegrin Assembly, Aleksandar Bakocevic and Dr Risto Vukcevic, briefed those present on the progress of the preparations to draw up a draft Yugoslav constitution in the constitutional commissions of the national assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro. In accordance with an agreement reached between the assembly presidents, a joint working group of the constitutional commissions of both national assemblies is expected to finalize the working text of the draft constitution soon.

It was agreed that simultaneously with the drafting of the constitution, the governments of Serbia and Montenegro will appoint a coordination group which will prepare economic solutions pertaining to our system and also current economic policy measures so that key economic problems can be efficiently resolved immediately on the adoption of the constitution and formation of the organs of the joint state. In keeping with a previous agreement, the working consultations between the leaders of the two republics will continue, the statement says in conclusion.

Federal

Vice President Kostic Indicates Changes in Army

AU1703175592 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 92 p 2

[S. Ristic report: "Two Months to the New Constitution"]

[Text] Participating in last week's session of the National Defense Committee of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, which discussed a report on reform of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and activities related to the arrival of UN peacekeeping troops in the country, Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, told the delegates at the beginning of his speech that there no longer existed any obstacles to the deployment of the blue helmets despite the worsening of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to him, the deployment of the peacekeeping troops was to be the most successful defense against all attempts of the last few months to spread the conflict to that republic, thus creating a wildfire with the intention of having the war spread further into Sandzak and Kosovo, the rest of the Balkans, and even other parts of Europe. Kostic stressed, however, that all the questions and objections regarding the deployment of the UN peace mission have finally been resolved.

The Reconstruction of the Federal Organs

Starting from the assumption that the deployment of the UN troops would end the war in the crisis areas as well as prevent the war from spreading into Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kostic said that (after the positive outcome of the referendum in Montenegro) the next two months would see the beginning of the process of adopting a new constitution and the reconstruction of Yugoslav federal organs, which would provide conditions for a peaceful solution to the social and political crisis.

"We believe that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not escalate. We believe that the Muslims and the Serbs are well aware of the tragic consequences to their nations should there be escalation of such a conflict," Kostic said, pointing out that any solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina was acceptable provided it was agreed upon by all three nations. Any solution which might involve the imposition of the will of one or two nations would lead to an armed conflict with unforeseeable consequences.

"We assume that the talks on Bosnia will last longer than the process of reconstructing the Yugoslav state community, and therefore, in my opinion, it is impossible to assume, or conclude, or expect that Bosnia could appear as the third constituent element of such a common state," Kostic did not exclude the possibility that, at some later stage, while seeking political solutions, Bosnia might consider becoming a part or an associate of this new Yugoslav community, nor did he exclude the possibility that, in case the solution is found along the lines of confederalization [konfederalizacija] or cantonization of Bosnia, that the part of the republic

with a majority Serb population could find an interest in establishing special ties with the Yugoslav state community.

"In that respect," Kostic said, "that Yugoslav federation would create an opportunity for Serbs in the Krajinas. Once an adequate political solution is found, and in our view every political solution means creating the conditions for a plebiscite and self-determination of the nation, that Yugoslav state community would, in its continuity, give that nation guarantees and assurance that, after one, five or 15 years, when we have arrived at a final political solution, Serbs in the Krajinas will be able to fall back on the one state that will have continued to exist.

"My personal view is that, unless it disintegrates after international recognition, Macedonia will realize that its future and security really lie in the Yugoslav state."

The Tri-Directional Transformation of the JNA

Regarding reform of the JNA, Kostic said that the new Yugoslav state would be considerably smaller than the previous one, which would have to be considered during the transformation of its armed forces, but, at the same time keeping in mind the states surrounding it.

"In this situation we should not make any radical moves which would decrease military readiness and the capability of the JNA since, no matter how much faith we have in the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces, Tudjman's behavior has simply taught us that he is not to be trusted. Therefore, we cannot take any radical measures in terms of substantially reducing the effectiveness of the JNA, not until we are assured that this peace process has finally become reality. Talking of our strategic plans and the concept of transforming the JNA, there now exist three directions," Kostic told the delegates.

According to him, one idea is the possibility of a civilian minister heading the Army. The second is the introduction of professional staff into the JNA branches where extremely valuable technical equipment requires highly specialized operators. "Once peace has been established and we believe that postwar policies can be considered, our third idea is to begin bringing professional soldiers into the JNA, which will enable us to shorten the length of military service for conscripts. Those are our thoughts on the changes in the JNA," Kostic said.

Asked about the fear that JNA pensioners would become the burden of Serbia and Montenegro alone, Kostic stressed that the costs will have to be shared by the entire former Yugoslavia, and that this question was also part of the separation balance. One of the many questions the delegates asked related to whether the danger of imminent war remained, and Kostic replied that it did.

Details Army Professionalization

LD1703214292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0734 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Sremska Mitrovica, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Vice President of the SFRY Presidency Branko Kostic foresaw the possibility of army professionalization, shortening of the one-year national service, and a general military training of

the population. If, in a new Yugoslavia comprising Serbia and Montenegro, a lasting peace is established—and I am optimistic that, with the help of the international community, the United Nations and the authority of the Security Council, peace will be established—our aim will be to create a professional army, Branko Kostic said at a public platform of the Serbian Socialist Party last night in Sremska Mitrovica.

Talking about the professionalization of the army, Kostic hinted that the one-year national service could be shortened considerably. The idea is to introduce general military training for the entire population, which means that the initial training of soldiers would be speeded up. Branko Kostic explained that he has in mind the professionalization of certain army branches using modern technology, because it makes more sense for professionals to be taught how to use military technology rather than for generation after generation of young soldiers to be trained in it. This does not mean that young soldiers will lack adequate military training.

Under the new state system, it can be expected that the defense minister will be a civilian, which has not happened yet in our country, Kostic noted. Talking about the Yugoslav People's Army's transformation under the new circumstances and the obvious treason on the part of some people in the high command, Kostic assessed that, in this tense and complex situation, any other army would most likely disintegrate. We have, however, preserved and "purged" it, and now we are working on its transformation, he said.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Government Urges Improved Security Situation

LD1703192792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government examined at an extraordinary session today the latest cases of violation of the security situation in the republic. In this connection the government, it was reported, charged the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense to prepare draft measures for the comprehensive settlement of the political and security situation in the republic for the next government session. These measures would then be sent to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the republican assembly.

In the light of the increasingly frequent cases of suspension of legal government bodies, the government concluded that it is necessary to secure all conditions for their unhindered functioning and assigned relevant tasks to the republican bodies. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government calls on the leadership of political organizations to immediately get involved in settling all cases of conflicts and to create necessary conditions for the functioning of state bodies. The government also concluded that it is necessary to urgently continue with contacts between the government and the Presidency on one side and representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army on the other in order to resolve current problems.

The government appeals to all citizens to remain calm and refrain from all activities which can cause further complications of the security situation. As regards the situation in Bosanski Brod and Mostar, a task has been assigned to working groups that have already toured these areas to propose adequate measures to the government.

Talks Continue at Sarajevo Conference

LD1703215992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, held under the auspices of the European Community and Portuguese diplomat Jose Cutilheiro in Konak villa in Sarajevo, will continue tonight. As TANJUG has learned in the republican protocol, the news conference convened for this evening has been postponed until further notice. It is clear that after today's separate meetings between cutilheiro and the delegations of the Croatian Democratic Community, headed by Mate Boban; the Serbian Democratic Party, headed by Dr Radovan Karadzic; and the Party of Democratic Action, headed by Alija Izetbegovic—and after the plenary session which followed—there has been no convergence of the parties' stands on the number of constituent units in the republic.

After the plenary session this afternoon, the leaders of the national parties announced in brief statements that some kind of agreement would be reached before the planned news conference. However, it is obvious the little shifts and concessions—if there have been any in the past two days of talks—were insufficient to achieve an agreement this evening, and to conclude the fifth conference on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In any case, this was not the final conference because the statements of the party representatives have indicated the possibility of its continuation in Brussels. According to information from the republican protocol, the news conference scheduled for this evening was cancelled at the request of Jose cutilheiro, who certainly does not want to leave Sarajevo without some agreement.

Agreement Reached on Structure

LD1803093592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0740 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a state composed of three constituent units based on a national principle and taking into consideration economic, geographic and other criteria—chairman of the International Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina Jose Cutilheiro said in Sarajevo this morning before leaving for Lisbon. A statement on the principles for the new constituting of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed late last night by the leaders of the three biggest national parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Alija Izetbegovic for the Party of Democratic Action (Moslems), Radovan Karadzic for the Serbian Democratic Party, and Mate Boban for the Croatian Democratic Union. The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina includes Moslems (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent) and Croats (17 percent).

Mostar Blocked; More Barricades Erected

*AU1703161492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Bosko Santic report]

[Text] Last night brought the least sleep of all the recent sleepless nights in Mostar. The southern part of the town—the local communities of Luka, Bjelusine, and Donja Mahava—echoed with shooting between approximately 0300 [0200 GMT] and 0600 this morning. Numerous homes awoke to broken tiles and windows this morning.

Outside our houses, the green berets [Muslim armed militia] and the reserve police force were shooting at the Serbs in Bjelusine, who were responding with fire. The night was really difficult. The Mostar government is in session at the moment trying to find a solution for what are already serious interethnic clashes. The shooting is closely related to the barricades that have been sprouting up like mushrooms after the rain during the night and this morning.

On the Mostar-Sarajevo road, the Serbs erected barricades in the towns of Sutina, Rastani, and Salakovac. In Mazovica, it was the Muslims who erected the barricades. In Bjelusine, Bacevici, and Ortijes, again it was the Serbs who set up the barricades. In Dracevice, on the Mostar-Nevesinje highway, the barricades were set up by Muslims and Croats. Therefore, Mostar is a town under complete blockade from all sides, and if the government does not find some sort of solution—which it has failed to do so far and for this reason the citizens demanded its replacement—the coming night might even be tragic.

To recap, the Serbs on the barricades demand the release of Lieutenant Zoran Lazarevic of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army in Capljina, who was kidnapped. They also demand that the Mostar Ministry of Internal Affairs withdraw its patrols in Dracevice, Bijelo Polje, and Bavinovac, and that the paramilitary formations of the Croatian and Muslim people be removed from the town. They demand that the old inter-party agreement on appointing nine members of the Serbian Democratic Party to the Mostar Ministry of Internal Affairs finally be fulfilled, something the ruling Croatian Democratic Community has skillfully avoided so far. It remains to be seen to what degree the government session will meet all these demands and whether a solution will be found which will calm all the residents.

Tension 'Intensified'

*LD1703204392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] Mostar, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Mostar has entered another uncertain night in total traffic isolation, with the exception of one traffic direction, toward western Hercegovina. Not a single one out of a total of 10 barricades in the areas with a predominantly Serbian population has been removed, while the blockade on the roads held by citizens of Muslim nationality has been lifted. Tension and fear in the city have been intensified following an incident which happened in the Krusevo town area at 1530, when from forward positions for the defense of the airfield Yugoslav

People's Army reservists opened fire on firemen from Mostar who had arrived to deal with a fire. Fireman Senad Colic was hit, but fortunately his injuries are not serious. [passage omitted]

Leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community, the Party of Democratic Action, and the Serbian Democratic Party are meeting behind closed doors tonight. They have agreed that the exceptionally difficult political and security situation in the town is a consequence, among other things, of very poor cooperation between these parties in recent months.

JNA Colonel Reported Kidnapped by Croat Units

*LD1703134892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Capljina, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Danilo Spahic from Tasovici near Capljina, who is missing together with Yugoslav People's Army Colonel Zoran Lazarevic in Gabela two days ago, returned home last night. Spahic said that unidentified members of Croatian units abducted both him and Lazarevic when they were returning from a military depot in Gabela. He said that they were treated correctly. Spahic also said that Colonel Lazarevic is being kept in prison "probably in order to be exchanged." Yesterday the Capljina public security station received an anonymous message demanding the release of people detained by the military authorities in Mostar in exchange for Lazarevic. Investigative bodies have no reliable information as to where Colonel Lazarevic is being held, but it is assumed that he and Spahic were taken from Gabela toward Opuzo.

Serbs Seek JNA Help Against 'Ustasha' Formations

*LD1703191692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1803 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Trebinje, Mar 17 (TANJUG)—The government of the Serb region of Hercegovina in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has called on the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to energetically oppose the offensive of Ustasha from the neighboring part of Hercegovina inhabited by Croats. A document published today and adopted at last night's special session of the government on the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina underscores that otherwise, the government of the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina and the people will start organizing a defense of their territory.

The government of the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina will, "on the proclamation of an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina, raise the people in the region to full mobility and propose the same to the assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina," as Prime Minister of the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina Milograd Bojovic told a press conference, setting out the stands adopted last night. Bojovic underscored that in the so-called Herceg-Bosna, a part of Hercegovina which is predominantly Croat-populated, there are fully trained "extreme rightist Ustasha formations" fighting under Croatian paramilitary units HOS [Croatian Defense Alliance] and ZNG [expansion unknown], and paramilitary Muslim units known as the "green berets."

Bojovic underscored that the aggressive attacks by these paramilitary units on military facilities in Capljina and Mostar (towns in Hercegovina) have taken on the dimension of attacks on such facilities in Slovenia and Croatia last year, when these Yugoslav republics forcefully carried through unilateral acts of secession. A large number of Croatian forces are engaged in Hercegovina, said Bojovic, adding that this was "proved by the latest arrests of sabotage groups" infiltrated in these areas. Bojovic underscored that the latest provocations in the vicinity of Nevesinje obviously pointed to an earlier announced goal by these forces, to expel the Yugoslav People's Army from Bosnia-Hercegovina and gain control over these areas until the imagined border on the River Drina (a river between Bosnia and Serbia), with the aim of creating a Greater Croatia.

Greater Croatia would be made up of two "constitutive nations"—Croats and Muslims, while the remaining Serbs who survive the genocide, would remain a national minority, as assessed by the government of the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina. The government adopted a decision to form a crisis staff of the Serb Autonomous Region of Hercegovina which started work immediately.

The government of the other Serb Autonomous Region of Romanija in Bosnia-Hercegovina issued an announcement today in which it supports the stands of the Serbian assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that Serbs will not allow any separation from the Serbian motherland.

The fifth round of the E.C.-sponsored conference on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina resumed today in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The goal of the conference is to coordinate the stands of the three ruling national parties, the Muslim Party of Democratic Action, the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union. Muslims insist on Bosnia-Hercegovina as a federal state with its own army, police and currency, while Serbs want a confederal Bosnia-Hercegovina which would remain a part of Yugoslavia. Croats are already in control of areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina where they are the majority population—Western Hercegovina.

Romanija Serbs Determined To Stay With Serbia
LD1703211792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian people of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija supports the stand of the Serbian Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina that the Serbs will never allow any separation from their homeland of Serbia. This is stressed in a statement today by the information service of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija.

While trying to settle the political crisis in Yugoslavia the European Community and the United States of America which has suddenly changed its political position, are completing Tito's and Kardelj's effort to dismantle Yugoslavia which was initiated in 1974. We are advising the Muslim people that in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija the Serbs will observe to a maximum extent the principle of reciprocity of respect of human, religious, national and

culture rights of the Muslims and that new relations within a confederal Bosnia-Hercegovina will be built on these bases, the statement says in conclusion.

Vice President Advocates Uniform State

AU1603141792 Vienna DIE PRESSE
in German 16 Mar 92 p 4

[Interview with Muhamed Cengic, vice president of the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Roland Hofwiler; place and date not given: "Bosnia Must Remain Uniform State"; Future Not To Be Decided in Brussels"]

[Text] [Hofwiler] The first blue helmets have arrived in Sarajevo. Are you glad about it?

[Cengic] With the blue helmets' arrival, the situation between Serbs and Muslims, which is full of tension, is being defused. The faster the United Nations establishes its headquarters in Sarajevo, the safer the situation in Bosnia will be, because the "Serbian Democratic Party" always foments national tensions anew.

[Hofwiler] There are, in addition, Islamic fundamentalists, militant Muslims, who are forming the "green beret" combat groups.

[Cengic] No, no. The Muslims know that they have to live together with the Croats and Serbs; only in this way can Bosnia become a state of citizens with equal rights. The berets were only a phenomenon, a reaction to the militancy of certain Serbian circles.

[Hofwiler] But Serbian newspapers are claiming that your Muslim "Party of Democratic Action" already has a regular army of 30,000 men in arms, which is supplied by Libya and other Arab states.

[Cengic] Nonsense. It is a fact that official Belgrade is infiltrating terrorists and arming radical Serbs in our republic. Croatian extreme-rightist Dobroslov Paraga also began to develop paramilitary formations in the Mostar area.

[Hofwiler] In Sarajevo some politicians gladly adopt the idea of a "Bosnian" people. Is there such a people?

[Cengic] I am convinced that if the inhabitants had been permitted to call themselves "Bosnian" people in postwar Yugoslavia, they would have done so. But the communists called us Muslims. However, not every Bosnian is a devout Muslim. I like the term Bosnian better; many citizens of Croatian or Serbian descent might have also defined themselves as Bosnians in a multiracial state of republics with equal rights.

[Hofwiler] Now a division of Bosnia into ethnically determined cantons that would be even less politically bound to a central government than in Switzerland is under discussion.

[Cengic] One thing must be clear: Bosnia is indivisible. I have been and continue to be opposed to any kind of cantonization. The whole of Bosnia must have the structure of a uniform state. It is not possible to have different

currencies in circulation or regionally independent police units who do not respect a Bosnian constitution that is binding for all.

[Hofwiler] However, negotiations between representatives of all three peoples of Bosnia were repeatedly held in Brussels where there was an agreement on a concept of cantonization.

[Cengic] It was discussed: Of course, we are trying to find ways out of the situation of national tensions. However, it is impossible that something that is discussed by six or eight politicians somewhere in the world, whether in Lisbon or Brussels, subsequently becomes a political reality over the heads of the affected people. All questions about Bosnia's future political structure and the development of the Bosnian state can only be decided by the parliament in Sarajevo and by nobody else in the world—and on very important questions by the people in a plebiscite. We just had a referendum where the majority of the Bosnian citizens advocated a sovereign state.

Muslim Leader Condemns Lisbon Agreement

92BA0609B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
3 Mar 92 pp 18-20

[Interview with Prof. Muhamed Filipovic, leader of the Bosnian Muslim Organization, by Fahrudin Radoncic in Sarajevo; date not given: "Izetbegovic's Historic Mistake"]

[Text] If anyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] has a reputation for being a politician whose words are sharp and lucid and as a fierce critic of the current government, then that is Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, professor. We talked to him about the controversial Lisbon agreement. At the very outset, Filipovic, who is a member of the academy, expounded his dissatisfaction to the DANAS newsmen because of the "water going to the mill of the SDA [Democratic Action Party]." He then showed the fragments where the door of his office had been shattered. He said that was the second time that the headquarters of the MBO [Bosnian Muslim Organization] had been broken into. Following the first such visit, he personally had found bugs installed. To make it still more unpleasant and to add yet another reason for his suspicions of the KOS [Counterintelligence Service], his office in the School of Philosophy at Sarajevo University has also already been broken into. Nevertheless, the culmination is the fact that the MBO's party office in the well-guarded building of the Republic Parliament has also been burglarized.

[Radoncic] We began our interview with Alija Izetbegovic's uncompromising opponent by inquiring as to the reasons for the unusually harsh press release of the MBO concerning the agreement among the leaders of the three ethnic parties in Lisbon. A man who was himself fiercely challenged after the Serbian-Muslim "historic agreement" that fell through, responded to that intriguing and supertopical question.

[Filipovic] If the essence of our dissatisfaction is to be understood, you must realize that we—the Bosnian Muslim

Organization—were the only political party in Bosnia-Herzegovina which from its founding has fought for and constantly advocated a "sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina equal with all other countries." We have not gone through any evolution of that position, as some of the other parties have, for example, the SDA, which first advocated a federation and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a republic within that federation, and then by virtue of amplitude only now is arriving at the position of independence and state sovereignty. Which means from the outset we have had an approach based on principle: No action that does not lead toward a strengthening of sovereignty—by which we mean integrity of the territory and exercise of full authority over the entire territory of the state—is unacceptable to us. If you have had a chance to look at that Lisbon document, you have seen that it foresees the creation of ethnic states on the soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thanks to the instruments of full authority—state authority—the various parts of B-H are turned into pure ethnonational states in which all inhabitants of other nationalities will be ethnic minorities. Given our bad experience from the past, that will be sufficient reason for new resettlements out of those regions. In my judgment, a document like this is an out-and-out introduction to disintegration of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Radoncic] Could you tell us the crucial reason for that forecast?

[Filipovic] It would be silly to suppose that creation of a Croatian national substrate with that kind of authority could end otherwise than by its option to join Croatia. Or, on the other hand, that the creation of Serbian national states on the soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina with those same powers could end otherwise than a merger of those states with Serbia. That is why we are against the agreement in Lisbon.

[Radoncic] You are an advocate of the thesis that ethnic cantons will only wait for some major world or domestic crisis and sooner or later will attach themselves to Croatia or Serbia?

[Filipovic] It is natural. It is only a part of the tactics, a stage in the plan to divest Bosnia-Herzegovina entirely of its substance, which is the ultimate goal of the Croatian and Serbian national policy toward B-H. The ignoramuses conducting B-H policy today do not take into account that this gutting is one of the fundamental political points both from the standpoint of the Serbian national movement and from the standpoint of the Croatian national movement. That is, they never wanted to allow Bosnia to have its own nationality, the Bosnian Muslims, who are a historic people, and to establish themselves as a state, because in that way Bosnia is left as an empty and uncovered area. And all of this is in the context of resolving the Eastern question. That means liquidation of Ottoman authority in the Balkans. Along with Sandzak, the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the last remaining enclave of Ottoman authority and should now be divided between two or three national states. That process began at the end of the last century and is operative even today. It is now winding down with prospects of even succeeding in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this case, the irony of history will be that the success of such a policy is being ensured by a Muslim party.

[Radoncic] Do you think that it would be better even for the Muslims if the concept of the Muslim Bosnians were accepted, that is, that the negotiators be civil politicians, not leaders who deliberately remain within the confines of alleged Islamic-religious commitments?

[Filipovic] Absolutely. First, this would put an obligation on all political parties to formulate a Bosnian program. Second, the ethnic tridominium would be excluded as a factor in setting up a government, because by its very logic it necessarily presupposes division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Divide the voters, divide the authority, and then look for territory for the full realization of that authority. In this case, I think that that would not be possible and that a majority of citizens would not support that option. After all, if there is anything, we have too much of in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then that is ethnic exclusivism.

[Radoncic] According to certain reports, the European political factor in Lisbon destabilized Izetbegovic's position because of the way in which the election program of the SDA was presented to it. As if the purpose was to say that there is no belief in that party's civil option.

[Filipovic] It is true that the election document was submitted to Izetbegovic, that is, the SDA platform in which there is not a word about what is happening now. The assertion was also submitted that there is a document of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and the SDA on recognition of regionalization. Alija Izetbegovic denied that document, but the Serbian side produced it, and the European and U.S. negotiators gave it serious attention. This is a logical consequence, because you cannot conduct a mixed policy—going now in one direction, now in another, temporizing, and in the end emerge clean from the entire situation. Alija Izetbegovic is having to pay for the inconsistency in his policy. A policy which is conducted as a series of successive tactical moves is always erroneous in its overall result.

[Radoncic] When you critically define what you called a mixed policy, I cannot fail to ask you whether that might not also apply to the attempt to create a Muslim-Serbian "historic agreement," something the MBO tried to conclude with Milosevic?

[Filipovic] No, it does not apply, and I will give you very precise arguments why it cannot. Last July, we were actually in this situation of a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main thing was to prevent that. We saw no other way than to openly talk to the Serbs. Not to attempt to trick them, but to confront them. I personally am convinced that the mistake of Alija's policy is that he has continually been trying to get around the Serbs, temporizing and faking. We did not want to do that, and we openly told the Serbs: For us Bosnian Muslims, the division of Bosnia does not come into consideration, and anyone who divides Bosnia will have to wage war against us now or at sometime. We cannot survive if B-H is divided, our Muslim people will go to ruin, that is the consequence which one can precisely derive. Then we told them to tell us what they—the Serbs—are most interested in and what is their main political goal, so that we could see where we might get together.

[Radoncic] And what was their response?

[Filipovic] They were precise—they said that their main goal is that Bosnia-Herzegovina not be taken out of Yugoslavia. We said in response to that that the most important thing for us is that B-H remain entire and be equal as a state to Serbia and Croatia. We asked whether we could build an agreement on that? We replied that we could and each side offered its own version of an agreement. However, Alija Izetbegovic knew about all of that, approved our project, and then, on the advice of Mr. Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, rejected the agreement overnight. He did not reject the Serbian proposal because it was reasonable to reject it—it had to do with the process of negotiation—and we certainly would have rejected their proposal because it was opposite to ours, but he rejected the very idea of an agreement between the Serbs and Muslims. And that agreement was the foundation of any peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The policy which placed the Croats in a position to arbitrate our situation has now come back to haunt Izetbegovic.

[Radoncic] There are those who think that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] has chosen the most debatable approach and solution at the most inappropriate moment. The Muslims seem not to be indifferent to this.

[Filipovic] They made their move at the last moment. It had to be clear from the very first that any ethnic party—by the logic of its ethnic interest as the supreme political criterion, would actually make its move. It is an illusion and a case of political amateurism if anyone, even Izetbegovic, expects anything different.

[Radoncic] A while back you mentioned that the division of B-H means war. Can Izetbegovic's consent in Lisbon be a consequence of his realizing that the Muslims cannot wage war against two nationalities?

[Filipovic] The logic of relations is such that in case of a conflagration the Muslims would certainly not wage war against two nationalities. This is why: We dare not forget that the Muslims are not the principal adversaries of either the Serbs or the Croats. Accordingly, the Muslims will always have either the Serbs or the Croats as their allies. And strategic projects must be mindful of this if it even can be supposed that there will be war.

[Radoncic] That proposition might be problematical if, say, Serbia and Croatia agree to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Filipovic] That is the danger we have now. It is obvious that the Serbian-Croatian conflict cannot be resolved on the soil of Croatia, nor on the soil of Serbia. It is obvious that insofar as national expansionist plans still persist, they are carrying over to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Not only to gain something from it, but to end the Serbian-Croatian conflict. However, I think that the thing is taking a radical turn at the global level. Europe and the world do not want war in this region. That is why they are sending the blue helmets, and it is no accident that they are stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The assessment is precisely that this could be a new hotbed, and that is why the command of the UN forces is precisely in B-H. What is more, the U.S. 6th Fleet is sailing into the Adriatic, providing direct logistical and

operational support to the international forces in order to prevent a violation of the truce. What I mean to say is that from the strategic standpoint the situation is altogether different.

[Radoncic] Because the hope is that there will no longer be wars, negotiations and concessions remain. If there are Muslims who think that the agreements in Lisbon have made them the losers, can we speak about what the Serbs and Croats have gained?

[Filipovic] They have not gained anything. No one can gain, that is a pure illusion. This agreement implements in mutual relations elements which will lead to ceaseless conflict. All political energy will be directed toward eliminating others, and that is the reason why everyone loses. Objectively speaking, in the final analysis the Croats could get five or six opstinas and western Hercegovina on the basis of ethnic territories, and they could hold on to it. They cannot hold on to Kresevo, just as the Muslims cannot hold on to an opstina which is, so to speak, isolated in some Serbian sea. The same applies to the Serbs.

[Radoncic] Is it not one of the mistakes of the B-H government leadership that it did not, so to speak, educate the international political factors and diplomacy as to the historical facts concerning B-H territorial continuity?

[Filipovic] That is a mistake beyond question. I have said several times that Mr. Izetbegovic has his own private foreign minister, Mr. Haris Silajdzic, who has never once expounded his policy in the B-H Assembly, nor the essence of the diplomatic action he is taking. What is more, without realizing that the essence of resolving the Bosnian problem in Europe is to resolve things in the West, they have exhausted themselves conducting a policy in the East. Strategically, this is an unforgivable mistake. Now that they have stepped up their activity toward the West, this is already yielding results. But a year has been lost unnecessarily. Our prestigious scientists and influential people could have committed themselves all over Europe and elsewhere, as the Slovenes and indeed even Mr. Tudjman have done. It was possible to arrive at an opinion concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the medium for all this was personal promotion and monopoly of an individual.

[Radoncic] When you criticize Silajdzic, you seem to be moving closer to the position of the SDS, which also has objections to the foreign minister.

[Filipovic] No, I do not arrive at the positions of the SDS. I am merely looking at the principles on which a state's foreign policy is being conducted. As an Assembly delegate, I want to know how foreign policy is being conducted, on what principles and by what methods. When our minister has not told the Assembly anything for a year, has not justified anything, and if I, as a deputy, am not in a position to propose anything, then it is nothing more than rhetoric to say that I hold the views of the SDS. It might be put the other way around: The SDS has the views of the MBO and of all the other parties dissatisfied with the way foreign affairs are being conducted.

[Radoncic] Now that we have mentioned the Serbian Democratic Party, it turns out that Europe is inclined to give in to extremism and maximalism.

[Filipovic] As a matter of fact, it does turn out that in this most recent document concerning B-H, Europe rewarded a policy that has failed and that is represented in all its length and breadth through Milosevic. Striking down his policy, and it has failed, because it obviously cannot be realized in its original version, Europe is encountering attempts aimed at maintaining the same option through someone like Karadzic or Babic. Epigones are sent into the game to conduct that same Milosevic policy. But they are being rewarded in order to isolate Milosevic, so that he will be surrounded by a political fence. Put simply, they are hoping that he will be brought down by the action of the opposition, although I do not believe in that at all.

[Radoncic] Although his positions have been seriously shaken on the eve of 9 March, Milosevic will count among his successes the winning of Montenegro, the alleged rescue of the Serbian territories in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and certainly he will treat the occupied territories of Croatia as a territorial gain. If things are looked at from that angle, Europe has not been very successful in bringing him down.

[Filipovic] You have to be aware that Europe has an order of priority in its goals. The first is peace. If it judges that some factor or situation could cause new complications, Europe is ready to make certain concessions. And if it is making them at our expense, that is because our policy has not been precise. Not, that is, because there is Milosevic's policy or Karadzic's policy, but because there is no policy of ours. From the beginning I have wanted us to conduct a dynamic and vigorous policy, not to wait for certain relations to be established and then for us to enter into them, figuring out where it will be better for us.

[Radoncic] Have you taken specific initiatives and offered proposals to people in the current government?

[Filipovic] Back in April of last year, I proposed to Mr. Izetbegovic that Bosnia-Hercegovina conclude a treaty on confederation with Slovenia and Croatia. Simply and unilaterally! And those three states might have figured as joint partners in talks with Milosevic. That was a way of turning the situation around. At that time, Europe and the world were advocating Yugoslavia's survival, and we would have taken from Milosevic's hands the arguments that he is supposedly Yugoslavia's custodian. At the same time, we would have created the initial conditions for strengthening the state and its powers on behalf of achieving its full sovereignty. What good is it to us for Bosnia's sovereignty to be recognized by anyone's state if within it there will be states—Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim?

[Radoncic] Because it is beyond dispute that you enjoy the status of an influential Muslim intellectual and opposition politician, on the eve of the Lisbon session did you also suggest something to the B-H president?

[Filipovic] Before he departed, I told Mr. Izetbegovic: Alija, I beg of you, the one thing on which you dare not yield is the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the unchangeability of

its borders. For example, Mr. Lasic has behaved here as though he were an apostle: As soon as he arrived from Lisbon, he euphorically said that the borders will not change. What is it that Lasic can guarantee to me, when this is guaranteed by Bush? Those are demagogic tricks. I warned Izetbegovic about where there must be no yielding. The relevance of certain interests, Croatian and Serbian, can be recognized, but projected against the relations of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia and Croatia. As I have said, I would be for B-H entering into a confederation with Serbia and Croatia because that confederation would not hurt the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its status as an entity in international law. Serbia and Croatia need not enter into a confederal relation with one another, nor in any relation, but with us they can because of the specific situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We can have treaties with certain states or state, but we must not have states within the state.

[Radoncic] Do you think that that is how it has all ended up?

[Filipovic] I am certain that the Bosnians will not consent to that and that there will be a very stormy reaction. It will probably be associated with the general socioeconomic situation. You can draw up any treaty you like, but it has to be verified in the Assembly.

[Radoncic] Because the ethnic parties have a large superiority in the Republic Parliament, does it become a purely technical matter?

[Filipovic] Yes, but if a new state is being created and a new constitution, there must be new elections. They are an inevitable consequence. Regardless of what the outcome of the referendum is. Anyone here who does not want elections will face great dissatisfaction.

[Radoncic] The question of the referendum is all the more interesting because a favorable outcome in the sense of a vote in favor of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, so we hear, opens up room for Izetbegovic to take a kind of makeup examination.

[Filipovic] I personally would like to see him dodge the obligations from Lisbon in that way. He would have my support in that regard. But if Izetbegovic thinks that he can play games with Karadzic and Boban, it is certain that he cannot do it with Europe. After all, when he has accepted a political agreement in the presence of the European factors, the referendum will not help him much in withdrawing from a situation which he himself sponsored.

[Radoncic] What scenario do you offer for Bosnia-Herzegovina to get away from the present gibberish, and where do you see a way out that would be sufficiently good for everyone?

[Filipovic] I was for holding a conference of all relevant political forces and for certain preconditions to be established for holding it. First of all, that we all say that we favor establishment of a democratic, civil, and law-governed state. Another important prerequisite is that we agree that Bosnia-Herzegovina must be a sovereign and independent state in order to be equal to the others. And third, that

Bosnia-Herzegovina come forth with a positive program for establishment of specific relations with the states with which it has particular historical and ethnic ties. That means with Serbia and Croatia. I do not include Montenegro here until it pays reparations. That is, we in the MBO have proposed our program of six or seven points, and the essence is this: Bosnia-Herzegovina needs an agreement, but not an agreement that would fail the political and historical test. We favor a coalition that would be based on political views, not on the ideals of nationalities.

Croatia

Zdravko Tomac Comments on Foreign Policy

LD1803112492 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT
18 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, Mar 18 (MTI)—Croatia would form an alliance with Hungary, Czech and Slovakia, Slovenia, Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Poland rather than with Serbia and Montenegro, Zdravko Tomac, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, says in the Wednesday issue of UJ MAGYARORSZAG. Concerning criticism about the presence of a UN force in Croatia, Tomac says:

Croatia has always pressed for the crisis to be handled on international level, while Serbia objected the idea of stationing European observers and UN troops in Croatia. In the meantime, the circumstances have changed. Foreign pressure, and particularly some world policy developments, have forced Serbia to change its views. Despite its rhetoric, Belgrade has now an interest in the crisis being handled on international level. Although UN presence in Croatia entails plenty of dangers, this problem should be settled at a later date...the necessity of stationing a UN force in Croatia is beyond doubt.

The blue helmets are being stationed in areas from where the People's Army, the Chetniks and the Croatian Army have withdrawn. The UN forces will set up a local police in which the various ethnic communities will be represented proportionately, in line with their pre-war composition. In reply to the questions how he conceives the future of Yugoslavia and whether the borders would remain unchanged, Tomac says:

The borders will not be changed but it will be difficult to achieve this aim. The borders must not be changed. An international recognition of the right of violence would trigger off a chain reaction elsewhere. For this reason, I think it lies in the interest of the whole world that the new countries remain within the old borders. As far as the future is concerned, Croatia seeks to strengthen its ties with the central European and Mediterranean states rather than the Balkan countries. Of course, economic ties should be strengthened with the Balkan states, but only to such an extent which still guarantees the development of free trade. I suppose that they will try to impose a regional alliance on us, which may lead to grave political fights. Croatia would form a regional alliance with Hungary, Czech and Slovakia, Slovenia, Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Poland rather than with Serbia and Montenegro. Concerning Croatia's relations with Hungary, Zdravko Tomac says: Hungary has helped us

a lot, particularly by giving shelter to our refugees. I think both Croatia and Hungary reckon with an eventual regional, central European alliance, something which has become possible after the elimination of antagonism between the blocs. I think we have to cooperate comprehensively to this effect. Of course, this does not mean that we have to push things through at any price since central Europe can only revive through balanced cooperation and a great deal of interest coordination.

Croatian People's Party Meets in Split
92BA0629C Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 92 p 4

[Article by Z. Krstulovic: "Croatia's Future Is Already at Hand"]

[Text] Split, 1 Mar—From the speaker's stand of the Croatian People's Party [HNS] in the overflowing convention hall of the "Marjan" Hotel, HNS speakers responding to numerous provocative questions imposed by the current social and political situation, emphasized very explicitly the principles they favor and will be advocating: absolute civil freedoms, a free and independent public information system, privatization of social ownership, modern market principles for business operation, a nonunitary concept of the joint state, as well as many principles that lead toward life in a truly democratic environment with a pronounced Croatian interest, but also with the right to diversity.

Jure Romac, president of the Split chapter of the HNS, who was the first speaker, spoke about Croatian casualties down through history. In that context, he mentioned that Bleiburg is a great Anglo-Saxon disgrace about which the Anglo-Saxons have remained unexpectedly mute. To commemorate the Croatian casualties down through history and the casualties that have occurred in the current war in Croatia, Romac called for a minute of silence. After that, he spoke about the Croatian road to independence, and in that connection he described the events in Split in front of the headquarters of the naval district of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] as historic, because, he said, that was the first outcry that "we will not have a Chetnik army." He added that Bruno Busic's dream had been fulfilled in front of the Banovina; according to Romac, he said that Croatia would never be happy until the children of the Partisans, the Home Guards, and the Ustashi died. Speaking about the blue helmets in our region, he called the great world power of the United States policemen controlling the United Nations, and he remarked on the "Yugo-ized brains of the U.S. administration," who, of course, "have the imagination of an amoeba." In conclusion, he called for wise tolerance to prevail on the Croatian political scene and for the government in Croatia to truly be at the service of the people, not the other way around.

Greeted by the expected loud applause, Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, president of the HNS, said at the beginning of her speech: "I will immediately commit a sin against the state and greet you as my dear Dalmatians." This met with great approval. So that there would be no wrong interpretations, she immediately added that she felt that no one in the

hall was less a Croat or patriot than those who believed that they are the only such. Speaking about Croatia today, the HNS president said that it stands between yesterday and tomorrow, and that that tomorrow must begin even today. She emphasized that the incumbent party itself is opposing that concept (the departure into tomorrow), using the current war as a justification. In Savka's opinion, we should begin solving the problems immediately, and they are these: Croatia's overall social welfare policy, the refugees who should be returned to their own homes, pensioners without pensions, savings depositors who have been deceived, people on the verge of starvation....

Croatia also stands in the midst of major international changes. The world's attitude toward Croatia to a great extent also influences the attitude of the United States toward Croatia, Dr. Savka Dabcevic believes. She said about the policy of the United States that it is gambling on maintaining the status quo and on gradual changes, which do not favor Croatia. In the world in which changes have already occurred, at a moment when a new world order is coming into being, the U.S. policy of caution and a cool attitude toward Croatia, according to Savka, is not suitable, especially because the United States, for example, has recognized certain states of the former USSR without seeking fulfillment of any of the conditions being required of Croatia. She went on to emphasize that Croatia should look for allies where it can find them and at the international level should seek confidence and affinity, but how is this to be done when five ministers are changed in such a short period of time, as though they were running a relay? She recalled in this connection that Croatia must use that line of argument which will prove that this is a small people and a new state seeking its own kind of democracy, and that we are real masters when the time comes to throw out allies and proclaim many of them to be enemies.

Speaking about the war in Croatia, she said that Slobodan Milosevic is exclusively responsible for it and openly expressed his policy of Serbian expansionism back in his speech in Gazimestan. This is aggression against Croatia, not civil war, Savka thinks, and this is aggression against everything that is Croatian, everything that belongs to its historical and cultural identity. In connection with this and international recognition of Croatia, the HNS president advocates a policy which will insist that political legitimacy at the international level be taken away from the former Yugoslavia, which would signify that all the foreign exchange of the former Yugoslavia abroad would be frozen, and it is considerable. Placing foreign exchange reserves under international control would mean that when the assets are divided, Croatia would get its share, and, still more important, those funds cannot continue to be used to arm the Yugoarmy, which, when the political legitimacy of the former Yugoslavia ceases, really becomes a quasiarmy. And all of this certainly also raises the issue of war damages and the naming of the war criminals.

Savka Dabcevic-Kucar also spoke about the behavior of the incumbent party, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], which has a habit of equating itself with Croatia. She

said that it cannot be denied that Croatia obtained international recognition during the incumbency of the HDZ, but that the opposition parties also deserve credit for that. She emphasized that Croatia must extricate itself from the bureaucratic triumphalism into which it has fallen thanks to the incumbent party. The position of the HNS in connection with the new elections is that the time for them has not yet come, because the homeland is partially occupied, state television is under the watchful eye of the HDZ, and all of this, taken with the rest, is conducive to irregular elections. As for the beginning of the election campaign, President Franjo Tudjman has just proclaimed it on several occasions.

Dr. Drazen Kalogjera, a well-known specialist in economic affairs, also spoke; he favored all those economic usages which are practiced by the present-day modern democratic states in the West.

Croatian National Party's Letter to Greguric

92BA0635C Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 92 p 4

[Article by D. Djuretek: "Until Further Notice in the Government"]

[Text] Zagreb—The attitude of the Croatian People's Party [HNS] toward the Democratic Unity government, the letter which that party sent to Franjo Greguric, prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, in that connection, the dramatic situation in Herceg-Bosnia, and the other burning issues of political life were the main topics of yesterday's press conference of the HNS. Dr. Savka Dabčević Kucar, president of the HNS, Bosiljko Misetic, minister of administration and jurisprudence in the Croatian government, Stanko Kovac, president of the HNS caucus in the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, and other leaders of the party took part.

In the letter to Prime Minister Greguric, the HNS says that the government has had greatest success in strengthening and organizing the defense of the Republic of Croatia, and it has made an indisputable contribution to the establishment and international recognition of the independent Croatian state. But it warns that the government has not acted sufficiently to implement those points of the agreement that concern Croatia's development as a democratic and law-governed state and as an economically well-ordered community. In many areas the situation is worse than it was at the time when the government was formed. This particularly applies, the letter says, to establishment of free, market-oriented, and private economic activity and privatization of social ownership, to advancement of the law-governed state and the "rule of law," to the freedom of the news media (especially monopolistic television), to respect for human rights and freedoms, and to the safety of the citizens.

The HNS says that the "agreement of the parties in the Assembly concerning the Democratic Unity government" stated that the situation in these and other areas would go forward in a democratic direction, not go backward because of the creation of a party state, neostatism, the superiority of the executive branch over the judicial branch, creation of a

"cult of the leader," and centralism. The party's presidium deemed that the tendencies referred to are not so much the consequence of the policy and autonomous activity of the government, because its powers have been restricted, but of the predisposition of the president of the Republic of Croatia to monopolize almost the entire policy of Croatia himself or through paragovernmental bodies.

The Presidium of the HNS nevertheless judged that leaving the government could cause or serve as a pretext for bringing down the government and destabilization of political conditions in Croatia. It was decided, then, that the representatives of the HNS would remain in the government until further notice. But, the letter warned that if a policy contrary to the one agreed on continues to be conducted in Croatia, the HNS will be forced to leave the Democratic Unity government.

Dr. Savka Dabčević Kucar, the party's president, said that this letter was not blackmail at all. She said that the party would withdraw its representative if the election campaign begins, if there is greater disagreement on matters of Croatia's defense, if any major reconstruction of the government involving a change of its prime minister occurs, unless there is some more essential work done to develop democracy, and in this connection she emphasized Croatian TV in a negative context. It is not true that the opposition has begun the election campaign, Dr. Dabčević Kucar said. It was initiated by the incumbent party.

Speaking about the situation in Herceg-Bosnia, the president of the HNS said that the referendum is a great victory for B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina] and a great blow to the Serbian expansionists, who are now attempting to achieve Milosevic's plans for the last time, according to the scenario which is now well known from Croatia.

"Serbia has lost here a large investment and will do everything it can. But there is some question as to whether it is able. Incidentally, you have seen that the Army has taken power there," Dr. S. Dabčević Kucar said.

Tudjman Adviser on HDZ Accomplishments

92BA0635A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
5 Mar 92 p 10

[Article prepared from interview with Josip Manolic: "Protection of Civil Rights and Freedoms"]

[Text] The entire system for protection of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia is not only one-dimensional; that means that it does not pertain only to protection of the state and its institutions, but its purpose is above all to protect the integrity of civil rights and liberties. Every democracy is premised upon that. This clearly must then be reflected in the operation of all democratic institutions within that system, because only its operation can entirely and satisfactorily protect the interests of citizens in all dimensions of their vital needs. Let us take an example: If the courts are not operative in those institutions, if our citizen cannot obtain prompt and appropriate real protection, then he will be dissatisfied regardless of who is violating his rights and who is threatening his interests. That

is why we are oriented above all toward the operation of our system's institutions, because they must be entirely at the service of protecting the interests of citizens. It is clear that the role of our department, the one which I head, and all other institutions, must be mindful first of all that the system operates to the benefit of that citizen on whom our entire system is based. Often, the citizen sees how the government operates in terms of his own personal affairs and his own personal interests. The first encounters with the police on the highway, his first encounter in our various offices in the opština, are very important. The way he is regarded in those institutions, whether or not he waits in line to exercise those very small everyday rights that our citizen must exercise above all through the bodies of government, regardless of what body we are talking about, I think that citizens look at our democracy in those terms, it is in those terms that they see the functioning of a law-governed state.

I think that the orientation that the president of the republic has propounded is actually a demand of the times and the present moment, in which we should reassess our entire conduct of policy in the Republic of Croatia. The last elections, we know, were held in a period of transition from the totalitarian one-party system to a multiparty system. That means that we opened up political pluralism, we opened up space for development of the economy on a different basis, the free basis of a free economy, by contrast with the planned economy under pressure of directors that we had at that time. It is well known that all of these models of the economy we have had up to now, and the policies of the one-party system have experienced utter failure and that we entered the last elections almost unprepared as pluralistic political parties, regardless of who and how many took part in them, so that the party which was in power had certain positions from which it could manipulate public opinion.

Recent changes in the republic have been made on the basis of those elections. So, on the one hand we have the demand to reassess and subject to a general criticism of the people our policy conducted up to now, and I think that elections are the most appropriate for that...to show whether the Croatian population still approves the policy that Dr. Tudjman and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] have been conducting so far.

I expect that the election campaign will be democratic. It is clear that we will not be able to tell anyone how they will operate. In my assessment that there is a very high degree of awareness that the Croatian population has adopted as a whole, I think we will very soon see disqualification of those who adopt other methods, the methods of low blows, the methods of slandering either individuals or parties from purely narrow party positions, and I might even say personal interests.

As for the victory we have been winning during these two years since the HDZ took power, thanks to the policy that the Supreme Command, the government, and the Assembly and all its other institutions have been conducting, it will not be possible to overlook the results achieved on the basis of that policy. They will have to be attributed to those who

were most deserving in the conduct of that policy that yielded us such results, and which are now best reflected in the question of international recognition of the Republic of Croatia, whereby it has become an international entity in the world. That is a victory to which the Croatian people has aspired for 900 years and which it has now achieved under the government of the HDZ and the Supreme Command and its democratically elected institutions. That is something which no one will be able to evade in the election campaign that lies ahead. It is clear that there will be various imputations, that there will be various half-truths that people would like to pass off. There will be arguments with which people would like to make politics for themselves, for their party. One argument has already been launched by one party: that the results of the victory should be attributed first of all to the Croatian people. That is quite so. It was the Croatian people who achieved this, but one cannot deny the program of the HDZ, which made all that possible! So, the Croatian people existed even before, the Croatian people existed in 1945 and 1948, when there was the conflict with Stalin, the Croatian people also existed in 1971, and so on. In this region it existed in 1971 above all, but it did not have these results. That means that something was lacking, that a party was lacking that would decisively lead the Croatian people on the basis of the only program that could bring about the victory which it has now won.

What have we achieved? We carried out the HDZ program, which mobilized the Croatian people, and we provided resolute leadership that was able to achieve that goal with the fewest sacrifices under difficult conditions, to temporize when it was necessary, and to conduct that kind of policy when it was necessary. That can be the answer to all those petty politicians who would like to build their image in the election campaign on half-truths....

Why were we able to succeed? The answer, I think, is clear. In the first convention of the HDZ, the strategy of a party was laid out, the strategy of a movement that was above all to rally, to unify, to reconcile the Croatian population. To reconcile those divisions of its history that have divided it up to now. Our entire population remembers that the Croatian people was divided during World War II, during the period of the National Liberation Struggle. The Croatian people had to join hands. Both those who are on the side of the antifascist struggle, fighting in their own way for Croatia, and also those fighting for Croatia on the opposite side. First of all there had to be a reconciliation of the Croatian population in order to achieve the unity of the Croatian people. As such, we could oppose our enemies and our opponents who persisted on a line of opposition to the interests of the Croatian people. That opposition has been dominant throughout the entire 45 years of life in the joint state of Yugoslavia. Our principal goal was to destroy Yugoslavia.... That was the political platform which made it possible for us to achieve the results achieved in a period of two years. That is why we can proudly publicize this event of ours that we had last week.

One of the legacies of the past is the administrative territorial division of the Republic of Croatia. It does not suit us, just as the entire system of the past does not suit us. We have

been facing that problem since the moment we took power. We probably would have managed to solve that problem much earlier if the war had not been imposed on us.

In defining the parishes, an issue that has aroused the public, we must take the criteria as our point of departure and stick to those criteria. We must start with our desire to integrate the Republic of Croatia entirely in all its parts both with respect to authority and from the geographic standpoint. This is one of the basic points of departure in looking at the problem of the parishes. The other problem that cannot be avoided is the question of historic borders and historic features that for a number of years have figured in the lines that were drawn for local administration.

I think that we have emerged from the war; we all know what kind of war it has been and what price the Croatian people must pay in that war that we did not want, but which we could not have avoided. I think that the period of the war is nevertheless behind us, though, of course, with a small reservation, which must not demoralize us now during the settlement to reach our ultimate goal. New problems are now confronting us: how to rebuild a destroyed Croatia: destroyed not only from the material standpoint, but also destroyed spiritually to a large extent. The most difficult thing will be to continue to live with the people we have been waging war against. That will be the most difficult thing.

Macedonia

Relations With Slovenia Cause 'Stormy Debate'

AU1703154692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] A stormy debate is expected in the Macedonian Assembly because VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] is demanding the resignations of Stojan Andov, parliamentary president, and Denko Maleski, minister for relations with foreign countries. A delegation from Slovenia has been visiting Macedonia today. Boris Djordjioski has the details:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] Two agreements have been signed in Skopje: The first was on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the second on the scrapping of visas between the two states. In statements by the most senior officials of Macedonia and Slovenia, it was said that one should look to the future and build further relations on what was achieved in the former common state. A session of the Macedonian Assembly is due to begin now. The agenda contains numerous laws, but attention is focused on the demands of VMRO for a debate on the accountability of

Stojan Andov, president of the Macedonian parliament, and Denko Maleski, minister for relations with foreign countries, and their replacement.

Andov is being accused of manipulating the Assembly and treating it like his own property, usurping authority, and so on. Maleski is criticized for being incapable of carrying out his tasks and for the fact that the Macedonian foreign service, which he heads, has so far done almost nothing to ensure that Macedonia receives international recognition. Both Maleski and his team are being openly accused of incompetence. [end recording]

'Hatred, Bitterness' at Assembly

AU1703205292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Branka Nanevska report from Skopje]

[Text] The much heralded session of the Assembly of Macedonia began five hours late this afternoon and a veritable storm erupted at the very beginning. Deputies of VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] who had demanded that a debate on the spring sowing be put on the agenda outside the usual procedure were fiercely opposed by members of the other parliamentary groups.

Numerous sharp words and personal insults were exchanged. It is simply impossible to sum up all the hatred, bitterness, and self-promoting propaganda that rained down from the rostrum. As many as 20 deputies went to the rostrum to say whether this evening's agenda should include the sowing and why. Suggestions on what the government and the parliament should do according to what the Constitution requires of them did not reach the ears of the people's representatives. The reasons for this intolerance and the high temperatures in the Assembly can be found in the demands of the VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity and the media for the resignations of the whole state leadership of Macedonia, with whose work members of this party are not satisfied, and in the party's activities, which more and more obviously hint at a pro-Bulgarian orientation of VMRO leaders.

Otherwise, in the agenda that has so far been established for this Assembly session, deputies nevertheless decided in a majority vote to discuss VMRO's demand for the accountability to be established of Assembly President Stojan Andov and Foreign Minister Denko Maleski and their resignations. Andov is reproached for manipulating the Assembly and insufficiently preparing the sessions, while Minister Maleski is blamed for Macedonia not being more widely recognized internationally. The working bodies that were in session in the morning have assessed this VMRO initiative as unjustified. As I report, there is a recess and it is quite unclear whether the session will be resumed this evening and when.